THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

January 15, 1949

WHERE WILL NANKING GO?

AN EDITORIAL

The Fall Of Chengchow

Mark M. Lu

Forestry In China

S. C. Lee

"Musical Chairs" In Siam

Andrew Roth

THE "OFFICIAL MIND"

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 112 GY20 NUMBER 7

1870

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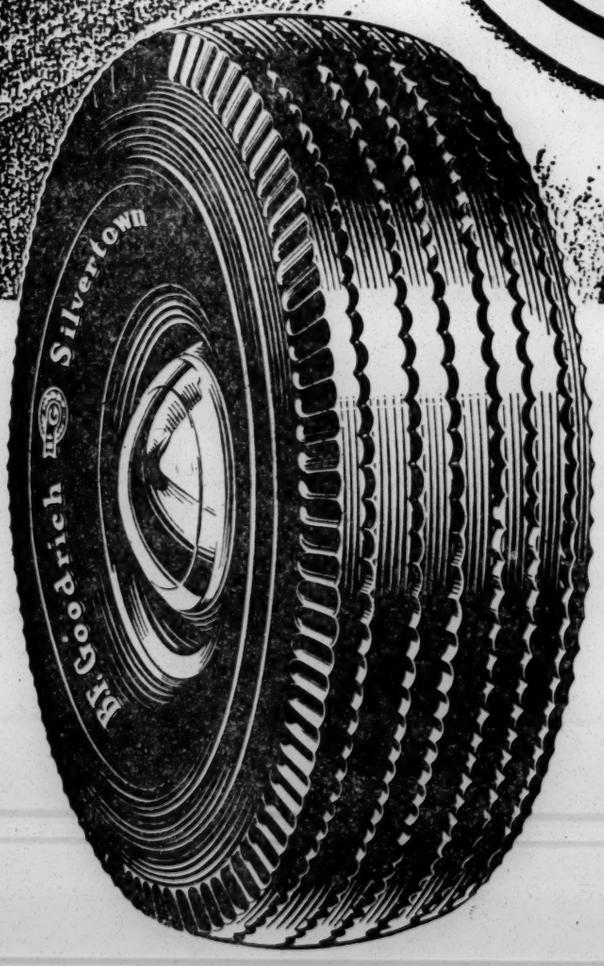

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Folly And Failure

To The Editor:

Your editorials, "American Dilemma," "Flying Tiger Revival" and "Doubtful Logic" contained sound ideas and ways for the Washington administration to reorientate its policy towards China.

America, now holding world leadership, seems somewhat to realize the folly and failures of her dollar-and-atomic-bomb foreign policy as the sole weapon to combat communism. Therefore, we hear that President Truman intends to oppose the inclusion of the anti-communism stipulation in new labor legislation to be discussed and effected by the 81st Congress, and that he also will come out for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act.

In addition, America is reported to have opened negotiations with Eastern Europe on commercial and industrial matters. Let us hope that the next Truman administration will restore one-tenth of China's goodwill to America which has been lost since VJ Day, to say nothing about the rest of its loss which I have written about time and again. In short, the election of Truman should prove an eye-opener to the American press, to the Republican party and to all those American boosters and the international boosters of Thomas Dewey.

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST

Chengtu, Szechuan
December 21, 1948

Any Other Way?

To The Editor:

In your editorial "American Dilemma" of December 4, you expressed your opinion concerning the attitude the United States should take toward China. In conclusion you deemed that the relation between America and China must be maintained no matter what government happens to be in control; aid to China should be continued; and America's interest should be in the Chinese people and not in any government which they may or may not have from time to time.

We certainly appreciate your sound ideas and undoubtedly believe such a policy is the only one which will ensure continued good relationship between our two peoples.

However, I seem unable to prevent myself from doubting that the American Government, as well as the American people, would carry out such a policy. As we all know, the American Revolution was a political, economic and religious one. Politically, it must be acknowledged, you have solved the question of political freedom and the dignity of the individual. But economically you have yet to solve the economic problem of the average man. However, up to now the only way we have been able to find to solve the economic problem of the average man is to socialize the community.

Now here comes the question: Will the great capitalists of America who tightly control the economic authority of the most powerful country and who presumably have a great influence upon the world, give up their fortunes and

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Hongkong and Macao (Air Mail)	GY 420.00

	6 months	*1 year*
U.S.A. and other Foreign Countries	US$5.00	US$9.00

Price per copy: GY 20.

STUDENT RATES

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Shanghai and China Outports	GY 195.00
China Outports (Air Mail)	GY 295.00

(All subscriptions must be authenticated by the individual student's school and must be sent directly to the offices of the *China Weekly Review.*)

All mail rates are subject to change in accordance with postal changes.

Cable Address: "Reviewing" Shanghai **Telephone: 14772**

PUBLISHED AT 160 CHUNG CHENG ROAD (EASTERN), SHANGHAI (O), CHINA, BY MILLARD PUBLISHING COMPANY, INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE, U.S.A. REGISTERED AT THE CHINESE POST OFFICE AS A NEWSPAPER FOR TRANSMISSION WITH SPECIAL MARKS PRIVILEGES IN CHINA.

Contents of previous issues of The China Weekly Review may be found in the "International Index of Periodicals," copies of which are on file in most standard libraries.

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holdings and let socialism be realized in their society?

Coming to religion, we find America is a pure product of religion. The Mayflower brought to America the Puritans from Europe who left their home primarily to seek freedom of religion. Today, it is obvious that freedom of belief has been granted to every US citizen, for America itself is a highly religious country.

On the contrary, we all know that communism is strongly based on the philosophy of materialism that theoretically absolutely contradicts the idealism to which all kinds of religion belong.

In brief, our question is simply this: Is there any other way—besides communism—of solving America's economic problem and will it prove possible for materialism and religion to go together?

PAUL WU.

Nanchang, Kiangsi
December 31, 1948

Conquerors And Robber

To The Editor:

Having been very much attracted by your *Review*, I am interested in expressing my own thoughts.

War means destruction. Of course, it is the "Conqueror" who blasts the fair fruits of peace and civilization to gratify his insatiable thirst for selfish domination. It is obvious that during war many many innocent people are killed or brought to death either on the battlefield or in the rear; and at the same time a great amount of properties and industries are put in ruins. Undoubtedly, without those "conquerors" we would never have wars and we would not find our human civilization and lives destroyed or plundered into the dust.

We all know that robbers strip individuals and rob people of their properties to satisfy themselves too. But they never kill those they rob except when they have to. They would never destroy human civilization. They rob for money only.

Comparing these two types of robbers, I concluded that the "Conqueror" is more harmful and terrible than the money robber.

NIEH CHIN-LING

Shanghai
December 30, 1948

English Lessons

To The Editor:

Allow me to say a few words about the *Review's* English Lesson, which in the past month or two has shown marked improvement.

I notice that the Lesson is now paying attention to letters received from Chinese readers of the *Review* who have specific words or phrases which they want defined and discussed. I think this is a very good idea for, I should think, it would be quite difficult for you to prepare the English Lesson considering the different standards of English among your Chinese readers. However, if they continue to send in requests for definite things they wish to know, you will have something concrete to go on in your lessons.

One slight word of criticism is in order. While I have noticed a definite change for the better in the whole construction of your English Lesson, especially in the style, I am afraid that at times it becomes a little too colloquial and in attempting to explain a word or expression it uses American terms which might be quite puzzling to many readers: For example, such terms as "gone by the board," "gangsterland" and "breezy."

READER.

Shanghai
January 7, 1949

Bad Discipline

To The Editor:

The shocking and unbearably bad discipline of the Kwangtung troops stationed at neighboring villages around Pucheng has prompted me to write this letter for the purpose of calling the attention of the military authorities to its seriousness. I am pretty sure that my letter will be taken with a grain of salt, chiefly because our Government is entirely devoted to this wide Bandit Suppression Campaign and consequently, soldiers must be tolerated no matter what the *lao pai hsing* may have to say.

I have been told frequently of the "atrocities" of these troops throughout the country and I am daily praying to God to have mercy upon us poor inhabitants of this small town.

These troops are stationed at a village to the north of Pucheng called Shangwangchuang about 30 li away, and eye witnesses report that even if you were to provide them with wood and coal for fuel, they would insist on removing your windows, tables and chairs and burn them for warmth. Because of dialect difficulties, they make it a rule to beat anyone who does not understand them. A schoolmate of mine told me that he was dragged by them and told to carry things to a place some 50 li away and he was badly beaten when he rested every once in a while on the way, for he was in weak health.

A family of six persons in the abovementioned village was turned out of its own house a few weeks ago. A 15-year-old maiden was raped by a platoon of these troops and died as a consequence. It was learned that the commander of the regiment later ordered one of these men to be shot. Rape cases occur everywhere. Early one morning I was amazed to learn that seven girls and four women were carried away the day before at another village north of Pucheng.

We innocent people simply don't know how to act. The Hsien Council petitioned Sian but so far to no avail. We could not help sighing when we were told by a local official that General Hu Tsungnan had been informed about it and had advised us to put up with them because they were invited to come here to Shensi to suppress the bandits for the benefit of the Shensi *lao pai hsing*.

About a week ago, we learned that these troops would be stationed inside the town and this news shocked every one of us townfolk. The *pao* officers were busy for a whole night arranging for their reception. Fortunately, only a few of them came the next morning. It was further learned that they might not come to garrison the town.

Dear Editor, would you be shocked by the power of tolerance shown by the Chinese farmer? When this power comes to an end and a power of resistance makes its appearance, history will be rewritten.

A SPITFIRE.

Pucheng, Shensi
December 21, 1948

Translation

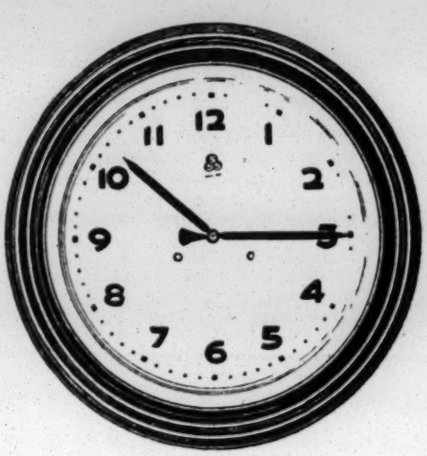
To The Editor:

May I trouble you to give me the Chinese translation for the phrase "Yang-Shao Culture" used in the article, "China in Transition" by Lin Chi-chun in the *Review* of November 20.

Your reply either by post or through the next issue of the *Review* will be much appreciated.

CHOW CHI-MIN.

Shanghai
December 20, 1948
(仰韶 —*EDITOR.*)



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Yunnan Bandits

To The Editor:

The news that Shih Pin (a famous town in southern Yunnan) was occupied by "bandits" appeared in the paper on December 3. But the truth has not yet been heard by the ignorant.

It was on market day and the market-place was crowded and there was much hustle and bustle. Some girl students appeared and said they were travelers and wanted to spend some time wandering through town. At first, they asked the police to guide them and this was agreed upon. On the other hand, some straw-sellers were sitting around the gate of the Shih Pin Government House refreshing themselves. About two o'clock gun firing was heard which continued off and on. Great confusion within the town took place and the people sought shelter. The "bandits" entered and the policemen and soldiers retreated into the Government House while the straw-sellers took out their machine guns and circled the Government House; the town was easily captured.

The next day, the "bandits" didn't kill any people, rob or burn any houses. On the contrary, they gave people some pork and openly gave rice to some of the poor. Most of the people were still fearful and dared not accept but the "Revolutionary Army" hung the pork on the doors and went away. Indeed, the townspeople were surprised by this behavior and realized that the "bandits" were their own army!

Shih Pin has been taken back by Government troops. But many inhabitants died as a result. I wonder whether these troops love the people. If not, we *lao pai hsing* have the right to defy them.

LU-SHANG WANG

Mengtsze, Yunnan
December 30, 1948

New Year

To The Editor:

In the minds of the millionaires the New Year is a chance to collect their debts and have a good time spending their money which is easily made. They sink deep into the luxuries of life and try to satisfy their insatiable appetites. They want expensive times and they require many first-class toilet articles for their wives and concubines. They float atop the surface of a calm lake and play like ducks and drakes.

For those in poverty the New Year is but an eyesore because they have longed for the plutocratic life and have failed in their attempt. So they hate and envy the luxury of the upper-classes and pity their own dog's life. The New Year is the enemy to the poor debtors who are the customers of the cruel millionaires. It is a golden oportunity for politicians and officials. It is also a fine occasion for the children of the fine families to carry on their love making and indulge their sexual appetites, in which they have a profound interest.

The petty officials and those with a family of two or three persons have great trouble when they hear the approach of New Year. The merchants spring up to find pleasure in selling lots of merchandise during this time. The pupils and workers only want a three day holiday. All nature looks gay at the time of New Year's Eve.

Although New Year is disagreeable to us, still I hope with all my heart that we can be brought to a peaceful paradise, which in other words is our Utopia.

CHANG YIN-LIN

Honan University, Soochow
December 27, 1948

Poem Quoted

To The Editor:

In reading English poems, I recently found one that I like best—not because of its rhythm, but because of its meaning—that may give a hint to the contending parties. I chose this poem to be published in the hope that those bloodthirsty warmongers may perhaps be moved, though it seems impossible that it will have so much effect as to inspire them to lay down their arms. The poem runs as follows:

The Nightingale and the Glowworm
by W. Cowper

A nightingale, that all day long
Had cheered the village with his song,
Nor yet at eve his mate suspended,
Nor yet when eventide was ended,
Began to feel, as well he might,
The keen demands of appetite;
When, looking eagerly around,
He spied far off, upon the ground,
A something shining in the dark,
And knew the glowworm by his spark;
So stooping down from hawthorn top,
He thought to put him in his crop.
The worm, aware of his intent,
Harangued him thus, right eloquent—
"Did you admire my lamp," quoth he,
"As much as I your minstrelsy,
You would abhor to do me wrong,
As much as I to spoil your song;
For 'twas the self-same Power divine,
Taught you to sing and me to shine;
That you with music, I with light,
Might beautify and cheer the night."
The songster heard his short oration,
And, warbling out his approbation,
Released him, as my story tells,
And found a supper somewhere else.

C. Y. CHIA.

Sian, Shensi
December 27, 1948

War And Mankind

To The Editor:

History has shown that no country has been entirely free from war at some time or another; no steadfast peace has been maintained from the past up to the present. War implies destruction, disturbance and slaughter. It places all mankind in a dreadful and unhappy condition. It is not only destructive to human life, but also to civilization which is the most essential feature of a country at large.

While war advances, scenes of bloodshed and terror are to be found all over the battleground. The places where fighting has occurred are as desolate as a large desert, for the earth runs with blood; beings have disappeared; beautiful buildings have been ruined; statues, temples and antiquities of great value to civilization have been pulled down; practical books and scientific instruments have been burnt; and many valuable books which cannot be duplicated have been lost. Thus we may say that war is destructive to civilization.

Many great and learned men also lose

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their lives in war. This is a great loss for they cannot complete their research and communicate the experience and learning gained during their lifetime to their successors. Is this not a great loss to civilization? Wise people, look around attentively and you will find many more evils arising from war.

When a war is started—usually by some wicked persons—it throws the multitudes into great fright and disturbs the happy quiet of the entire society. In this critical circumstance, there could not be another such foolish fellow to devote himself to his studies as the celebrated Greek mathematician who applied himself to a study of the circle while being attacked by an enemy. Naturally, one cannot study in profound quiet while one's country is at war.

Finally, wars are responsbile for the improvement of implements of murder. The longer a war keeps on, the more weapons improve; and consequently the more men die and the more civilization perishes.

Indeed war is terrible. But when and how can it be banished from the earth?

CHANG YIN LIN.

Soochow
December 30, 1948

Corrections

To The Editor:

May I correct some errors in the article, "Chinese Philosophy and Politics: 1853-1905" by Joshua W. K. Liao which appeared in the December 25, 1948 issue of the *Review*.

Prince Tuan and Tuan Fang were two different persons.

Prince Tuan (端親王載漪), whose son had been made heir to Emperor Kuang-Hsu by the Empress Dowager, was leader of the Boxers.

Tuan Fang (端方) was once the viceroy of Kiangsu, Kiangsi and Anhwei, thence Special Envoy to Europe to investigate the Occidental political system and just before the 1911 Revolution was sent by the imperial court to investigate a railway incident in Szechuen where he was killed by disbanded soldiers.

One was a member of the Royal family; the other, a simple Manchurian. One was extremely conservative and anti-foreign; the other was more or less westernized, open-minded and very moderate in his attitude to politics.

It is a great mistake to put "Prince," "Tuan," and "Fang" together.

K.Y. YEN

Shanghai
January 8, 1949

Line-Up For Peace

To The Editor:

So far as the present situation is concerned, it is evident that peace talks will be decided, not by political leaders and big shots but by the top commanders who hold military power in their hands. If they succeed in achieving a truce, not even the President will harm them. As matters stand at present, General Fu Tso-yi and General Yen Shi-shan will, no doubt, agree to peace talks because they, not being political officers of the Central Government, want to keep their prestige. General Pai Chung-Hsi, of course, is in accord with Vice-President Li, who advocates peace. General Hu Tsung-nan has no more courage to meet the Reds. Even the generals of the Whampoa Military Academy are tired of fighting. Besides, common soldiers who have been fighting for ten years have no more strength to fight on.

The people's will is the mightiest force of all though they have no weapon. The *lao pai hsing* want peace, particularly the refugees. Even ignorant children and old women are eager to hear news of a truce. Peace is the only hope of the people.

It is generally supposed that a resumption of peace talks is impossible between the KMT and the CP, for both have no sincerity. However, this is only a pessimistic speculation. If the soldiers put down their weapons, what will their leaders do? The twentieth century is the age of the people; even we Chinese people can not be cheated.

A keen leader would give up his personal wishes and follow the people's will. The peace of China, and the peace of the world, depends on his decision.

H.S.C.

Soochow
January 5, 1949

Criticizes UN

To The Editor:

Mr. Lie has told us a "lie."

Maybe the UN chief has not yet given serious consideration to the Chinese problem and once he has he will end up by deciding that the United Nations should keep its hands off the question.

Maybe our of-the-people government is—or has been—thinking of bringing the issue into the United Nations now that it is inclined to feel that the present "internal" struggle is changing into an "international" situation—a rebellion engineered or aided by some power outside China.

Certainly the United Nations, judging

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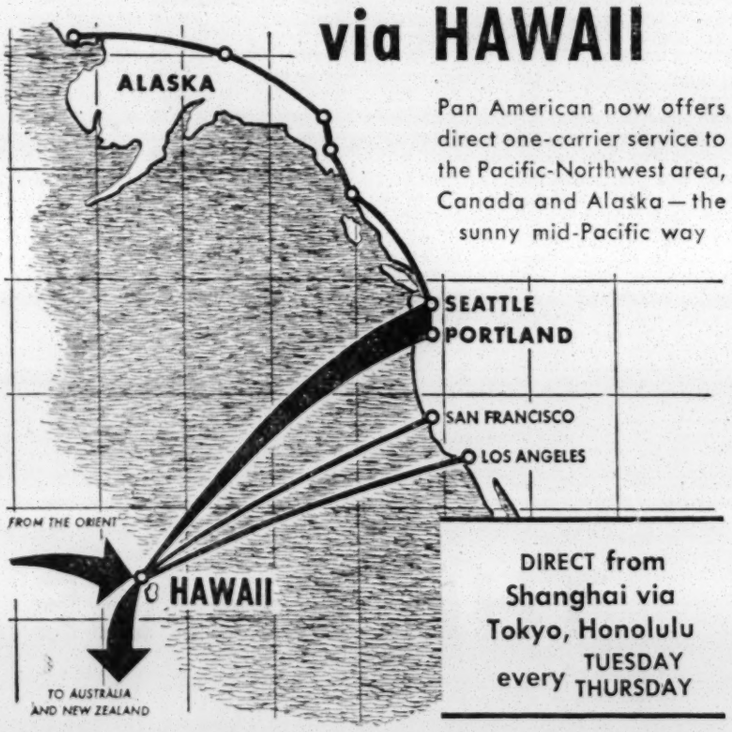

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from the fact that it has not been able to wash its hands of the Dutch police action against the Indonesian Republic, would never be willing to wash its hands of China unless it is compelled to or unless it believes it would be useless to "intervene."

So far as the Chinese *lao pai hsing* understand what is happening, they know that there *is* a power engineering and aiding the "rebellion" against the Chinese people all these years since victory against the Japanese—and that power is the United States. But obviously this is not what Mr. Lie meant.

MAN IN THE STREET

Shanghai
January 7, 1949

Peace Action

To The Editor:

Tears poured down my cheeks when I had gone through the article, "Renewed Peace Movement in China" by C.Y.W. Meng. It is regretted that the recent peace movement merely remained an aborted flower. The long Civil War has undermined the common people to the point of death. They can no longer put up with such a life. Let all peace-loving people rise up to bring the cruel civil war to an early end so as to save the people from dying. Those "Peace Sponsors" who have exerted every effort for the cause of peace in China should be expected to assume leadership in steering the peace negotiations and boldly to urge the authorities on both sides to lay down their guns forthwith. It is admittedly a difficult task to be done, but I think the "Peace Sponsors", supported by the masses, should have courage enough to run such a risk regardless of their own interests in order to pave the way for a flourishing China for their children and children's children. Let us wait for their honorable action.

C.C.Y.

Sian, Shensi
December 28, 1948

Foreign Deposits

To The Editor:

I agree fully with the viewpoint expressed in the December 4, 1948 issue of the *Review* in your editorial, "American Dilemma," in which you state that the American authorities "should follow a policy of non-intervention militarily" in China, while "aid to the Chinese people" and "reconstruction work should be continued."

Indeed, Uncle Sam has been good enough to be the number one supporter of the Kuomintang, but has the KMT benefited from this support? The answer, as everyone knows, is unfortunately in the negative. American dollars have only lined the pockets of the very very few responsible for State affairs—henchmen of the above-mentioned party. In saying this, I do not mean to discredit the KMT which so successfully launched a revolution years ago against the effete Manchu regime and succeeded in establishing a new nation. However, facts have made the ill-gotten wealth of these few high officials articulate. With the military situation going from bad to worse, we fail to see why these big shots do not liquidate some of their tremendous personal holdings to save the very government from which they once amassed these large fortunes. Should the government be overthrown, we wonder whether these big shots will still be able to enjoy an extravagant life.

Both for the country and for themselves, I think they should give a little of their holdings to the tottering government.

Viewing conditions from this angle, while we appreciate more American aid to the Chinese people, we should not overlook the possibility of using a part of the frozen foreign deposits of these wealthy Chinese.

L. S. LEE

Sian, Shensi
January 3, 1949

Basic Concept

To The Editor:

This letter is an attempt to display a basic concept of the Chinese people. As a people, we Chinese know no "ism" other than the one of peace and love. We are taught to put our elders at ease and look after our young. Although this may seem very simple it is still very true, the main duty of being a man.

To make us believe in the Kingdom of God is one of the aims of Western civilization. I believe in this wholeheartedly. But that Kingdom is not to be won by fighting or force, nor by an atomic bomb.

Is the purpose of Western civilization to make us slaves of the conflicting "isms"? No. To sacrifice our love of humanity for any propaganda is against our conscience and the teaching of our ancestors. Therefore, we do not like that. We do not like to be running dogs of any "ism-monger," except humanitarism, which comes more or less close to the teachings of Jesus and Confucius.

CHENG WEI-LUNG

Changteh, Hunan
December 22, 1948

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
密勒氏評論報
A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 112 Shanghai, Saturday, January 15, 1949 No. 7

Where Will Nanking Go?

THERE has been considerable speculation in recent weeks about the Government's supposed plans for moving the capital should Nanking prove untenable. Latest press reports from Nanking indicate that some city on Taiwan, perhaps Taipei, is the most favored spot at the moment. However, there are also indications that Canton might once again become the seat of the Kuomintang Government.

Obviously, no city in China would do so well as Nanking, which has—with an interruption during the Sino-Japanese War — served as the capital for more than two decades. Nanking has been designed as a capital, it has spacious public buildings for the various ministries and bureaus, as well as dormitories and houses for Government employees. The Government will find itself crowded for both office and living space in any other city.

However, if the military situation continues to deteriorate, a move may become necessary, regardless of questions of comfort, or lack of adequate communications or other facilities. The Nationalist Government has already had experience in sudden moving activities, having transferred the capital from Nanking to Hankow and, later, to Chungking during the early days of the war with Japan.

Both Canton and Taipei are cities which can be reached relatively easily from Nanking by water transportation. Both have certain advantages, as well as disadvantages. In the preliminary discussions, we understand, it was thought that Canton was preferable in that it was on the mainland, its communications with other parts of China were relatively good and, in addition, it is a symbolic city as far as the Kuomintang is concerned, since the revolution began there. It was then thought that the Government could move its archives and other belongings by river to Hankow and thence to Canton by rail over the Canton-Hankow Railway. However, with the Communists breaking through to the Yangtze in small groups and with a new direct threat to Hankow seen in the offing, such a route might not be feasible and the move might have to be made down the Yangtze, along the China coast to Hongkong, and then up the Pearl River to Canton. This would be a more difficult route since it might even be necessary to trans-ship from river to coastal vessels. At least larger craft would be required for such a voyage and it would take a longer time.

Latest reports from South China seem to indicate that the situation in Kwangtung is not ideal, especially as far as peace and order are concerned. Communist guerrilla activity — or banditry — has been widespread in Kwangtung ever since the end of the war with Japan. The Government sometimes calls these "disturbances" bandit activities and minimizes the influence of the Communists, while at other times it seems convinced that the peasant uprisings and raids by guerrilla bands are all well-connected and have been organized by the Communists. No matter who is responsible, the result is that large sections of Kwangtung are under the control of armed groups which are actively opposed to the present regime.

This instability has slowed down Governor T. V. Soong's efforts to make Canton the center of a new industrialized rear base for the Government. According to Dr. Soong, his militia units have fought some 1,200 separate engagements with the bandits during the past six months. This would not indicate that conditions were very stable. However, great plans for the development of Kwangtung are being mapped out. Hydro-electric plants, coal mining, exploitation of mineral deposits such as wolfram, copper, sulphur and chrome will be increased, timber production will be expanded and so on *ad infinitum*.

Already, we hear, the Chinese Navy is making Canton its main base. The entire island of Whampoa will be turned into a naval reservation. Meanwhile wealthy refugees from Shanghai and points north have been pouring in by ship, plane and train for the past few months, resulting in serious overcrowding and a steady rise in real estate and food prices.

* * *

PRESS reports from Nanking during the past week or two indicate a growing belief that the Government plans to move the seat of its main activities, presumably including the Generalissimo's person, to Taipei. The island of Taiwan, it is pointed out, is about the safest place a retreating regime could pick. It is separated from the mainland by a goodly expanse of ocean, which would prove quite a barrier to an invading force, especially one which possesses neither an airforce nor a navy. Further, the island is quite well stocked with natural resources, produces a food surplus each year and has a fairly high level of industry left by the Japanese. What's more, it has surplus electrical power and a reasonably well trained body of semi-skilled workers which makes the island a place to which mainland industry presumably could be transferred more successfully than many other spots.

However, there are a few main drawbacks. First, the island is too small to support the

Government so long as it retains its present size, unless the major share of the support were coming from mainland areas. Secondly, and perhaps most important, is the attitude of the approximately 6,000,000 natives of Taiwan. They don't care much for mainland Chinese, because of the rank exploitation by the mainlanders during the past three years and especially because of the brutal repression of the short-lived Taiwan rebellion in the spring of 1947.

* * *

ALL in all, it would seem that there is no really *good* spot for the Central Government to refugee in if it is forced to leave Nanking. Taipei may become the official and main capital, while Canton may become a subsidiary capital with various organizations, such as the Navy, headquartered there. Army headquarters may also remain on the mainland, being moved forward and backward from time to time as the military situation dictates. Meanwhile, other cities, such as Kunming and Chungking, may become centers for some of the rich refugees who wish to leave areas overrun by the Reds.

A transfer of the Government from Nanking will not be so easy as during the Sino-Japanese War. At that time, aside from a few puppets, the bulk of officialdom and certainly nearly 100 percent of the public were giving the Government their full moral support. This time, however, an ever-growing section of the public is becoming disillusioned and, if not actively transferring its support to the opposition, is at least refraining from giving any positive help to the Kuomintang regime. Regionalism, a post-empire development which the KMT fought for so long to eradicate, is springing up again and it is doubtful how much aid the Government may expect to receive as its actual physical power to command support declines.

The path of the Kuomintang, once it, or a part of it headed by the Generalissimo, leaves Nanking looks rather difficult. The odds on its being able to rally enough support and strength to exterminate the Communists are rather long.

Evacuation Of Essential Industries

The Central Engraving and Printing Press is setting up a branch plant in Taipeh.—*Ta Kung Pao.*

This would seem to be adequate confirmation of the rumor that Taipeh will be the new capital.

Prisoners Starve, Refugees Freeze

RECENT press reports have revealed some shocking figures regarding the condition of local prisoners and refugees. Some 8,000 prisoners in the city once again are facing near starvation because of the inability of prison authorities to buy enough food with the meager funds at their disposal. Meanwhile, it is reported that 4,211 people froze to death on the streets of Shanghai during November and December of last year. This figure is said to be double that for the same two-month period of the previous year.

Prisoners in Shanghai jails have a difficult time at best because of general overcrowding and poor quality food. Few cells, we understand, are properly heated during the winter months, while sanitary facilities are wholly inadequate. Local prison officials cannot be blamed for these conditions, since such matters are the responsibility of the Government. At times—the present is apparently such an occasion—conditions become much worse because of extreme overcrowding or fast depreciation of the currency.

We recall a statement made last year by the head of one of the detention houses who complained that the police and courts were sending him far too many prisoners and that he was forced at that time to chain many newly arrived inmates to the walls along the jail's corridors because all cells were already so crowded that it was impossible to get more people in.

The present crisis seems to be one of food. Judge Cha Liang-chien, president of the Shanghai District Court, has publicly stated that something urgent must be done to solve the acute food shortage at Ward Road Jail, one of the largest penal institutions in the world. Obviously, the prisoners cannot be set free, but at the same time they cannot be kept in jail if the Government can't afford to feed them properly. As the Civil War continues and as conditions become more difficult, the question of the large number of prisoners confined in various institutions throughout Nationalist-held areas will become more pressing.

We have no solution for the problem, but certainly one must be found. The Government now seems intent upon moving some of its various operations to areas farther away from the scene of fighting. Obviously, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to transfer prisoners. However, these people are the responsibility of the Government and it simply cannot abandon them without providing for their support. Perhaps a sensible move would be for Nanking to appropriate a lump sum to each penal institution, instructing the directors to purchase a stockpile of food which would carry them along for the next few months. If the Government then retreated from this area, there would be sufficient food to feed the prisoners during any interim period which might elapse before a new regime arrived and assumed the responsibility.

* * *

A COMPANION problem—also mainly a question of food—concerns the huge refugee population in rear areas which is not being cared for. Again, it is up to the authorities to do something. We understand that there is a definite limit to the Government's ability to cope with the numerous current problems and that many will have to go uncared for. However, the question of feeding refugees, a great many of whom have turned into penniless beggars, is a most important one.

According to local reports, 373 adults and 3,838 children were found dead on Shanghai's

streets during the last two months of 1948. This is really appalling. How the men who constitute the governing body in this country can allow more than 4,000 people—and most of them children—to die of hunger and cold on the streets of Shanghai during such a brief period is beyond understanding. This averages approximately 70 people per night, although the figures are usually much higher during cold snaps when as many as 200 or 300 may die during one night. This certainly is not the way to solve the "beggar" problem."

We can scarcely imagine what the figures might be were it not for the efforts of private charity groups and other organizations such as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, ECA, etc. which feed many people who otherwise would go hungry. The Government, of course, has done a little, but, as is so often the case, it has underestimated the extent of the problem and made wholly inadequate preparations.

Failure to tackle the refugee problem in a proper fashion is not only an example of almost criminal neglect of responsibilities, but also stupid politically. Most of the beggars currently starving in Shanghai are political refugees from areas overrun by the Communists. Perhaps no other section of the population would provide better, ready-made anti-communists. That is, they would have a while ago. Now, however, it is quite likely that they may feel that the Communists weren't so bad after all. For a Government which is carrying on a war against communism, the neglect of these refugees from Communist areas is a major political blunder.

The Government, which at one and the same time boasts of its as yet untapped resources and its determination to exterminate the Reds but allows prisoners to go unfed and refugees to die of cold and hunger by the scores each night, doesn't cut a very good figure.

The "Official Mind"

NOT long ago we urged the Government to study the case of the *Observer Magazine*, which has been closed by the authorities. We specifically reasoned that closure of publications for printing critical news was no solution to the regime's problems. Preventing publications from exposing the ills of the country do not make the ills any less existent.

We now have a few more examples of the peculiar type of "official mind" which frequently reacts in a fashion not at all creditable to the human race. In Tientsin the garrison headquarters suspended for one week the Chinese *Liberal Evening News* for "disclosing" in its news columns the fact that Communist artillery shells had landed on the improvised airfield built on the city's race course. Such a move makes very little sense in that presumably everybody in Tientsin who was not deaf and dumb and blind knew that the Reds had shelled the race course. The Communists, presumably, also knew what they were doing since they shelled this one spot and no other one. In any event, the news was radioed to other cities of China by the press, so the citizens of Tientsin, as well as the Communist attackers, only had to listen to the radio if they had no other method of knowing exactly where each shell landed.

From Peiping it is reported that censorship of both local and foreign newspaper dispatches is in force. A list of 11 points which newspapermen must observe was published by the military authorities. These points, as is usually the case, are very loosely worded and give the authorities the ability to interpret them in any way they see fit. In addition to these measures, the authorities arrested six correspondents of the *Ta Kung Pao*, a nominally independent paper. They, along with their families, were kept under house arrest for two days. The reasons for this detention were believed to be because one of the editors—who is not now in Peiping—is "rumored" to have gone over to the Reds and because some of the six correspondents are reported to have written occasional articles in their spare time for the *Observer*.

Reports from Nanking state that the garrison authorities there have begun secret censorship of cables of foreign correspondents, although no censorship regulations have been announced for the capital at this time.

Shanghai residents, meanwhile, claim that some form of censorship has been in existence for a long time. It began, they claim, during the days of General Chiang Ching-kuo's ill-fated reign, when letters to and from banks and various "suspected" addresses were checked for currency violations. Since then some haphazard form of "spot checking" has been employed.

Such activities on the part of the Government can hardly be justified, even though the Nationalists are involved in a bitter "bandit" suppression campaign. Military news of value to the enemy might properly be censored, but indiscriminate censorship, which seems aimed mostly at silencing criticism which the Government fully deserves, is merely another example of the "official mind," the existence of which is one of the main factors contributing to the present sorry plight of the Government.

Luxury Ban Relaxed?

IT HAS been reported in the press recently that the Nanking authorities are considering lifting, or at least relaxing, the import ban on luxuries. Various reasons are given for this idea. One has it that there is a shortage of such goods on the market and that a few imports should be allowed to relieve the tight situation. Another explanation is that the authorities feel that an increased flow of luxury goods to the stores would sop up a lot of idle capital which otherwise, it is feared, will shortly plunge into the food and other markets.

While it might be pleasant for that section of the population which feels itself restricted in its mode of living again to find imported luxuries on local store shelves, we imagine that

such people can forego that type of pleasure during these difficult days. Also we believe we can think of a few better ways of sopping up any idle funds than by the sale of luxuries to the rich.

Obviously, there can be no lasting solution for the deteriorating economy so long as the Government spends more than it collects and is forced to make up the deficit by printing more paper money. However, there are several methods which can be employed to tighten the money market from time to time. Chief among them is bank credit, the relaxation or restriction of which can ease or tighten the money market considerably and, therefore, partially control prices from time to time.

Another method which has been tried, discontinued, and then tried again several times during the past few years, is the sale of gold and silver. Sales of these precious metals is one of the best methods of keeping idle funds out of the commodity markets since those desiring to hoard some of their surplus wealth, be they ricksha coolies who wish to buy one or two silver dollars, or bureaucratic capitalists who wish to buy a few dozen ounces of gold, are always eager to exchange their paper money for a hard "currency."

The public would rather buy gold or silver than anything else, especially more than commodities, since they can be easily hidden, are always valuable, and, especially, will not spoil or deteriorate as most commodities are certain to do. Further, at the present time few people are enthusiastic about stockpiling huge amounts of commodities.

An added factor favoring gold and silver is the high price these metals fetch today in terms of US dollars. China has one of the highest priced gold markets in the world, while the silver dollar recently has risen considerably, being at times almost equal in price to a US dollar. The Government might well explore the possibilities of selling gold and silver for US notes. At present these metals are sold in limited amounts to the public for Gold Yuan. If unlimited sales were made to those willing to exchange American dollars, a thriving business might well develop, with the Government selling gold and silver at prices considerably above the world market price and then replacing its reserves from the United States or Mexico at a lower figure. This would enable the Government to continue its sales for a longer period than now seems possible.

As we said, all these methods are strictly of a temporary nature, designed at best to keep the badly smoking machinery of government running a little longer than might normally be the case. There is no substitute for sound fiscal policies, coupled with basic economic reform. However, so long as we seem unable to operate except upon a day to day basis, we might as well choose the better alternative. At least gold and silver sold to the public is of more lasting benefit to the country than cosmetics or other types of luxury goods.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

US Policy Difficulties

January 12, 1924

American and other foreign residents of China....who have been trying for a considerable time to get some kind of a statement out of Washington regarding its present China policy have at last partially succeeded....in the form of a personal letter from a high official source within the government....The letter follows:

"....The difficulty of the situation in the Far East, as you will perceive, lies in the weakness of the Chinese government. We have done what we could to strengthen it and to give it the opportunity for development. But that development must of necessity take place within. It is not possible for the Powers to create a government for China, or to substitute with any hope of success a government through their own agencies. The utmost which they can hope to do is to bring the Chinese authorities to a realization of their responsibilities, and give such assistance (even though it should be against the will of certain elements in Chinese politics which hope to profit by a continuance of disorder and corruption) as will tend to stabilize the finances and the transportation services of the Chinese government, and thereby bring about conditions of order and security which may afford a less difficult set of conditions in which the Chinese people may develop an effective administration of their own."

* * *

Dr. Sun's Northern Expedition

The latest decision of Dr. Sun Yat-sen is to mobilize his troops for a Northern expedition. His plans, which have been subject to change for quite some time, especially after his failure to defeat General Chen Chiung-ming, have lately taken a step in a different direction. According to the *Eastern News Agency*, meetings have been held lately in Canton by leaders, passing resolutions for the establishment of a stable government with Dr. Sun as President. The people have been urging Dr. Sun to effect the subjugation of the North without delay, and in view of the strained relations between Fengtien and Chihli, and Chihli and Chekiang, it was first decided to mobilize the Hunan and Honan troops into Kiangsi province as preliminary steps toward the subjugation of the North.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Guerrilla Activities

January 14, 1939

The following description of guerrilla warfare employed in China against the Japanese invaders is taken from a recent issue of the American magazine, *Time*:

"....Favorite guerrilla tale is that of 24 Chinese, who, caught in Pingchuan when the Japanese entered the city, donned the blood-stained uniforms of dead Japanese, and walked out of the city unmolested. This trick sometimes boomerangs. Recently 8th Route Army General Lin Piao, regarded as the ablest Chinese strategist now in the field, returned from a raid with 600 of his men who were dressed as Japanese, mounted on Japanese horses. Their own guerrillas ambushed them, wounded a number, including General Lin, before their identity was established.

"The guerrillas also have a transverstite stunt that has taken toll on the Japanese. Chinese youths dress as girls, lure Japanese into the countryside, where waiting guerrillas fall upon them."

* * *

Cabarets Thrive

About the only enterprises in Shanghai which have continued to function and prosper throughout the "crisis" are the cabarets. While the fighting was in progress on the borders of the foreign settlements, the police forced the cabarets to close at 11 o'clock at night, but the pressure was too great and the curfew regulations were soon extended until they practically became non-existent.

Civil War Spreads

The Fall Of Chengchow

Mark M. Lu

ABRUPTLY on October 21 martial law was imposed on the city of Chengchow, rail hub on the Lunghai and Pinghan lines in central Honan. By night time the streets were desolate, and around midnight the quiet of the city was shattered by the rattle of machinegun fire and the sounds of rifles.

The following morning all was quiet once again and even the streets in the heart of the city were back to normal. By afternoon, early editions of the evening papers throughout the city carried the usual news of Government victories. In fact, one of the evening papers contained the information that General Li Chen-ching, commander of the 40th Army, who had been appointed as successor to General Sun Yuan-liang for purposes of garrisoning the city, was determined to carry on with the "bandit suppression campaign" to the last man.

Just about the time this news was being read, Communist soldiers began entering the city. At first the people thought they were simply Nationalist stragglers retreating from the front. It was not known that they were Communists until they occupied the Hsien government Yamen and the Special Political Administration office and began seeking the magistrate and other high local officials.

As the city fell, General Li Chen-ching retreated with his army toward Sinhsiang, rail center on the Pinghan-Taoching line in northern Honan. The men attempted to cross the Yellow River over the well known Iron Bridge. However, the 26th Independent Brigade and two regiments were ambushed by the Communists and, as a result, nearly all the troops were wiped out and General Li himself was seriously wounded in one leg. Incidentally, General Li was summoned to Nanking on November 16 to make a report on the military situation in north Honan to the Generalissimo and, at the same time, to cure his wound.

Fortune Teller For Mayor

Following the Communist occupation of Chengchow, a new municipal government was installed, and a man who had hidden his identity by posing as a fortune teller was appointed mayor. Shang Tze-kan, a former sub-chief of the Nationalist Secret Service, was made chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. The appointments were a great surprise to the people of Chengchow.

The Communists then registered all local government officials and asked them to remain in their former positions. These officials were supplied with flour and rice, and the Communists even raised some of them in grade and increased their salaries.

Along the principal streets of the city, posters were put up notifying the public that the "People's Liberation Army" is strong and has never had to retreat before the Nationalists, and that in the very near future all of China will be liberated. The posters declared that all people except the very rich, the favored families and the bureaucratic capitalists were comrades. They also promised that the Communists would protect newspapermen and implement freedom of the press.

There were five leading morning papers in Chengchow: the *Chun Li Pao*, mouthpiece of the Hsuchow Bandit Suppression Headquarters; the *Chung Pao*, under the reign of the Kuomintang Headquarters; the *Tung Hsu Daily News*; the *Chengchow Daily News*; and the *Tsun Chiu Daily News*. The three evening papers were the *North China Evening News*, the *Central Honan Evening News* and the *Labor and Commerce Evening News*. Of these papers, the *Chun Li Pao* has been ordered to move to Hsuchow, while the *Chengchow Daily News* voluntarily went to Nanking and part of the personnel of the *Chung Pao* left for Soochow.

Papers Visited

After entering the city, Communist political workers visited the various papers and asked the editors, reporters and managers to cooperate by resuming publication. All the papers received supplies of rice, flour, paper and other necessities.

Prior to the evacuation of the Nationalists, all local papers without exception had adopted the attitude of fighting the Communists to the finish. But now, these papers did an about face and began to praise Communism and liberalism. It illustrated the saying, "No matter who she is, if she feeds milk she is the mother."

Meanwhile, all commodity prices, especially for food, dropped sharply after the Communists took over the city. Later, it was announced that the circulation of "fapi or legal tender", and Gold Yuan would be ended November 5, after which use of these notes would be strictly prohibited in the Liberated Area. Everyone scrambled to buy up available goods and thus get rid of their "KMT" currency, and, as a result, prices soared.

Silver dollars were also in circulation and a ratio of one yuan of Chungchow currency (Communist money) was made equal to one silver dollar, but actually one silver dollar could buy 10 or more Chungchow notes on the blackmarket.

In the event that a person traveling in the Liberated Area was discovered to have a large amount of Gold Yuan with him, the Communists sealed it in a large envelope on which was written, "Strictly prohibited to open in the Liberated Area." This was a measure adopted as a precaution against the inflow of Gold Yuan which might upset their economic policy.

Public Granary

All provisions were put under the supervision of the public granary, and the surplus of Chungchow notes was absorbed by raising the prices of provisions so as to check inflation.

With the outbreak of the Hsuchow-Pengpu battle, heavy forces by both sides were mustered along the southern stretch of the Tsinpu railway. As a result, the sector along the Pinghan railway, starting from Sincheng, some 60 li south of Chengchow, to Chumatien in southern Honan has become a vacuum through which the people are free to come and go.

A few weeks ago, Miss Geneva Sayre of the Kaifeng Free Methodist Mission left Chengchow and returned to Shanghai by way of Hsuchang, Chumatien and Hankow. She spent 18 days on her journey and it has been learned that she intends to return sometime this month. This indicates that this sector is still peaceful. Commercial buses are operating as usual along the Lunghai railway from Kaifeng to Shangchiu.

The well-installed trains and the modern locomotives of the Lunghai railway, presented by CNRRA, were transferred to the Chekiang-Kiangsi railway several months prior to the Nationalist evacuation. However, a great deal of rail material and some locomotives were left behind. In addition, most of the railway workers, including mechanics, conductors and transportation officers remained behind. For this reason, as soon as the Communists entered Chengchow, rail traffic between there and Kaifeng was resumed. Although the Government war birds carried on bombing and strafing, not much harm was done.

FORESTRY IN CHINA

S. C. Lee

THE aggregate forest area in China is at present estimated at 82,804,870 hectares, or about 8.5 percent of the total land area of the country. Out of this, virgin forest covers some 28,948,000 hectares and secondary forest covers some 53,857,000 hectares, with timber volume content amounting to approximately 4,950,152,000 and 2,902,268,000 cubic meters respectively. Denuded mountains and waste lands suitable for reforestation purpose cover some additional 252,740,000 hectares.

Because of the mountainous character of land, the wide range of climate and a copious rainfall, China is extremely rich in trees. There are 134 families, more than 656 general and over 2,000 species. More varieties are found in China than in the whole of the other north temperate regions. Nearly every important genus of coniferous and broad-leaf tree known in temperate regions is at present in China. This shows the vast number of tree species in China and the wonderful variety of plant materials she has for forestry work within her territory. Forestry experts of the FAO are enthusiastic about the possibilities.

Secondary Forest

The Secondary Forest covers a total area far more extensive than virgin forest, because most secondary forests have sprung from stands of devastated and disappeared virgin forests. Large-sized secondary forests, usually formed by natural reproduction, consist of trees of various sizes and species, while those of small area have a forest form much more regular through management, albeit limited. The coniferous forests found on hilltops and hillsides are rather good in condition. But in many low-lying regions, subjected to heavier damage, most forests are mixtures of conifers and hard-wood trees, provided that environment is not unfavorable to the latter's growth.

As to forest ownership, no exact information is yet available. It can be roughly estimated that about 90 percent of the virgin forest and five percent of the secondary forest are in public ownership and the remaining 10 percent of the virgin forest and 95 percent of the secondary forest are in private ownership.

Trees that are commonly known and are generally used for plantations in the various parts of the country are as follows:

Cunninghamia lanceolata. This tree is a special product in China, generally growing in regions extending from the Yangtze River southward to the Nanking range at elevations not exceeding 1,000 meters.

Pinus Massoniana. This pine has a wide range of distribution. It grows throughout central and southern China at altitudes not exceeding 1,000 meters.

Picea asperata. This tree is a most widely distributed spruce in China. Being hardy and vigorous, it is found from northern Szechuen through Shensi and Shansi to Hopeh, occurring from 2,500 meters altitude up to timber line.

Abies Delavaya. This fir is found in Outer Mongolia and North Szechuen between altitudes of 2,500 and 3,500 meters usually forming extensive pure stands.

Tsuga chinensis. This is the most widely distributed hemlock in China. It is known to occur in Shensi, Kansu, E. Sikang, Szechuen, Hupeh, Anhwei, and Chekiang, growing at altitudes between 2,800 and 3,500 meters.

Larix Potaninii. This species is found most abundantly in the Yolukiang forest district It also forms vast pure stands in Szechuen and Shensi at altitudes between 3,000 and 4,500 meters.

Pinus tabulaeformis. This pine is widely distributed in North, Central and Western China, at altitudes not exceeding 1,500 meters.

Thuja orientalis. This tree is widely cultivated all over China for ornamental and building purposes.

Quercus acutissima and Q. dentata. These two oaks are frequently found in Central and Northern China, occurring at altitudes between 1,000 and 2,000 meters.

Bamboos. Bamboos flourish in all of the southern provinces and along the Yangtze valley up to an altitude of about 1,000 meters. They are put to many uses by the Chinese people —as food, building houses, bridges, rafts, for the manufacture of paper, furniture, umbrellas, musical instruments, and all kinds of farm implements and household utensils.

Tung Oil Tree. This is widely distributed in China south of the Chingling range, principally in the provinces of Szechuen, Kwangsi Hunan, Hupeh, Kweichow, and Chekiang. Two species of the tree are known, Aleurites Fordii and A. Montana. The famous tung oil is extracted, but 90 percent of the total amount of tung oil is produced by A. Fordii.

Principal Work

The principal work accomplished to date may be summarized as follows:

Reforestation. China is one of the timber deficit countries in the world. Native production always falls short of the actual needs. This has been the case all the more after the war. In order to meet the urgent demand in this connection, artificial planting on denuded areas for purposes of fuel production and general construction has been carried out to some extent during the rehabilitation period after the war. The nursery land established has amounted to a total of 2,582 mow with an output of tree seedlings up to a number of 27,728,301. The number of seedlings already used in plantation has been 231,086,272, corresponding to a planted area of 62,417 mow. Experts from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations have assisted the MOAF in the establishment of these nurseries.

Forest Protection. For the prevention or control of forest fires, intentional mechanical wounding of timber trees, conversion of forests into unproductive farms, and other forms of destruction or injury brought to the forest, measures have been taken by the Chinese Government. The most important of them have been the strict execution of the Forest Law, the setting up of firebreaks, the mechanical control of pine moth and the prohibition of wanton cutting and burning as commonly practised by the natives.

Forest Utilization. 1) Logging and Milling Operations. Due to the inaccessibility of most of China's forests, no large-scale timber logging and milling has ever been attempted. Before the war (excluding Taiwan) the total annual production of lumber was only about 16,412,515 cubic meters. Production during the war was even lower. Annual production at present has been estimated at 9,859,259 cubic meters, including some 600,000 cubic meters produced in Taiwan.

2) Forest Products Manufacture. According to data of factory registration reported by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the Chinese forest products manufacturing industry comprises 24 paper mills, 24 sawmills, eight rosin manufactories, nine paint and lacquer manufactories one papier-mache, mill, one ply-wood mill, one camphor manufactory, and 26 other factories turning out products such as charcoal, vaseline, etc.

3) Soil and Water Conservation. For the prevention and control of soil erosion and water runoff, by which 30 percent of the soil surface of China has been destroyed, the Department of Forestry of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry has started work at Tienshui (Kwangtung) in 1946. The National Forestry Research Bureau with UNRRA aid established a central conservation station at Nanking in 1947 and Mienkiang (Szechuen) in 1942. The main aspects of the work have been experimentation and demonstration, such as the carrying out of runoff plot tests, terracing and contour farming, gullies control, siltation by willow cuttings, studies in cover crops, determination of the best crop rotations, etc.

Sand Prevention. 1) Yellow River Flooded Area. The flood devasta-

Destruction of a village by flood due to lack of surface cover on the mountains in Kansu Province.

Pure stand of Picea Asperata on the mountains of West China. At left, log chute in Tatuho, Szechuen Province.

tions of the Yellow River, particularly during the war, had caused untold damage and destruction to many districts in Anhwei and Honan. The floods were found to be non-existent, but the former tracts of fertile farmland were converted into tracts of sand and strong wind often shifted it. To prevent the shifting sand, the former CNRRA Anhwei Regional Office made an effort to carry out reforestation in an area of 30,000 mow in N. Anhwei and to continue the work of that office, the Anhwei Flooded Area Sand Prevention and Reforestation Work Team, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, has completed reforestation in another area of over 300,000 mow. The same reforestation work done in Honan by the Honan Flooded Area Sand Prevention and Reforestation Work Team has been in an area of some 54,192 mow.

2) Northwest China. The annual inward shifting of deserts in the Northwest by the NW monsoon has led to growing encroachment upon good farmland. To prevent and check such an invasion, a sand prevention forest station was first established at Kingtai (Kansu) in 1947. Reforestation and grass plantation done by the station has reached a total area of 4,000 mow. An FAO forestry expert recently referred to this product as the new "Green Wall" of China.

Forest Research. Forest research and experimentation is performed chiefly by the National Forestry Research Bureau. Work done to date by the Bureau may be summed up as the experimental planting of seedlings, testing the mechanical properties of timbers, laboratory studies in the chemical utilization of forest products, the cataloging of China's forest resources and the training of personnel.

Other Research

Other institutions doing forest research as part of their work include Academia Sinica and the various universities, and colleges handling regular forestry courses. For instance, the Academia Sinica forestry experts have completed valuable studies in connection with the forest geography of China, silviculture of Kansu trees, and dendrological nature of China's forest trees. Forestry Professors at the National Central University have made great contributions to the study of wood technology, chemical analysis of tung tree seeds, collection of wood samples, laboratory test of different wood preservatives, and the identifying of a living-fossil tree known as *Metasequoia glyptostroboides*.

Forestry Education

Modern forest education in China has gained increasing impetus during the last 20 years. Through the efforts of the Ministry of Education and with the cooperation of private sources and foreign missionaries, China has 25 universities or colleges which give regular forestry courses with a total of some 1,120 graduates; vocational schools of agriculture and forestry in the country are now 40 in number, with forestry graduates totaling 940 persons. These graduates, both from the universities and the vocational schools, are now engaged in work with the various organizations dealing with the advancement of forestry, educational institutions, and local governments.

According to the postwar reconstruction program as projected, China will require about 1,850 college forestry graduates and about 4,720 vocational school forestry graduates by the year 1950. As compared with the above given figures, this means China will have to educate 730 more forestry students in colleges and about 3,500 more in vocational schools within the coming two years. China is also hopeful of obtaining additional help from the Forestry Division of FAO.

For the postwar rehabilitation and development of forestry in China the Department of Forestry of the MOAF has formulated a set of work projects. The Department is now making all efforts to put these projects into effect on both self-help and foreign aid basis. The following are some of those worth mentioning:

1) 30-year Long-range Reforestation Project. This project deals with the establishment and exploitation of economic, fuel production, protection and national security forests in China.

2) Project for Reforestation by Garrison Troops. This project is in connection with reforestation of 8,000,000 mow of waste land by garrison troops in the various parts of the country and is to be completed in 10 years.

3) Demonstration Reforestation Project. This project involves the reforestation of Chingliangshan (Nanking) Sungshan (Honan) and Sishan (Peiping) for demonstration purposes to be completed in 10 years.

4) Project for Sand-Prevention Reforestation in the Northwest. For the prevention of shifting sand from encroaching upon good farmland, this project aims to build up a forest belt 10,000 li long and 10 li wide in the N. W. provinces. It is to be completed in 30 years.

Heavy Losses

Through eight long years of war against Japan, China suffered extremely heavy losses in all the national functionary aspects, forestry of course being no exception. Destruction of forest resources, equipment, instruments, and reference works was beyond calculation. The postwar rehabilitation and development thus becomes a tremendous work which needs the nation's united efforts.

The most serious problem in China's forestry at present is the limitation of her forest resources. They can hardly meet the great demand for timber for reconstruction work. What China has to do in solving the problem is not only to protect all the existing forests and improve their quality, but also to reforest all the land that is suitable only for growing of trees.

CHINESE INTELLECTUALS SUFFER

K. C. Chang

UNDER normal conditions everyone, especially the intellectual, wants to live by his or her own ideals. Teachers want to teach in a good school, which is not directed by outside influence. Scholars or writers want to devote themselves peacefully to research work or writing. Government employees long for the time when it will be possible to carry on routine work without worrying about the skyrocketing prices of food, fuel and educational fees for their children.

During the war, the intelligentsia in China, like all other groups, suffered very much. Their kinsmen were killed by the enemy; their research work and writings were destroyed; they were homeless and forced to lead a wandering kind of life for eight or nine years. But they bore these hardships willingly, for they knew that their country was involved in a war against an aggressor. They lived in the hope that the day would come when they would be able to return to their homes and be reunited with their families and live a peaceful life.

VJ day did come at last, but with it came the Civil War which has since spread so extensively. Hopes were shattered, and spiritually as well as materially there was an even further decline in the living standards of the intelligentsia.

Present Conditions

The dream that victory would bring peace and the opportunity to settle down to work was wholly squashed. The Civil War spread furiously to every nook and corner of the country. In the northern and northeastern provinces, people existed for a long time on corn husks. In Nanking and Shanghai, life was also difficult. After considerable deliberation the Government issued the Gold Yuan a few months ago in an attempt to improve economic conditions. Many people had their doubts about this new currency though there were some who thought that the issuance of the Gold Yuan might really improve conditions. At least they were hopeful that something would bring about an improvement. However, the first group which had its doubts because it did not believe any improvement was possible without increasing production and ending the Civil War turned out to be correct. No sooner had the Gold Yuan been in circulation a little more than two months when life became more difficult than ever. Prices jumped up; hurried purchases on a large scale caused shortages of rice, flour, fuel, meat, vegetables and other necessities of life. Under such conditions, it was difficult for people to work.

Repeated Petitions

Although intellectuals were once the most revered class in China, life has become so difficult for them that today many of them are very near the brink of starvation. Repeatedly they have petitioned the Government to increase their salaries so that they might enjoy the bare necessities of life. But the Government authorities point out to them, in reply to their petitions, that during the period of Bandit Suppression, every loyal Chinese should be prepared to make certain sacrifices in preparation for the great task of National Reconstruction. Therefore, belts must be pulled even tighter. It is understood that certain legislators, seeing the urgent needs of this group, are holding meetings to discuss the problem of adjusting the salaries of Government employees and teachers and that in these discussions it has been recommended that their total salaries be raised about 50 percent. This would be a mere drop in the bucket since a more realistic adjustment on the basis of the cost of living would be around 500 percent.

Naturally many intellectuals have given way to their indignation by writing articles and making speeches very critical of the authorities responsible for their plight. The result has been that a number have been arrested, imprisoned or even killed. Thus they have been temporarily silenced in the face of terrorism. Chinese intellectuals today indeed have been spiritually disarmed.

With the fall of Tsinan, Changchun, Chefoo and Chinchow, many people, including the Chinese intellectuals, are asking themselves what they should do. Should they remain in Nanking and face a possible Communist attack or should they go somewhere else for safety and shelter? But where?

Here are some of the suggestions which I have heard. One friend told me that if it became necessary, he would send his wife back to Hunan where her family lives. He took it for granted that the Communists would attack Pengpu in the middle of the southern section of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway leaving Hsuchow isolated, and that they would interrupt communication lines between Nanking and Shanghai. If this should happen, he would go to Chekiang where he would stay until he could see what would happen and whether it would be safe to return to Nanking or not, or whether it would be better to return to Hunan.

In Emergency

Another intellectual said that he had such a large family that he could not move them anywhere, but that in an emergency, he might leave the city for a few days to avoid bombing and go to a small village outside of Nanking.

Still another friend said that he would stay on in the capital, providing himself with as much food as possible, as he feared Nanking might well become another Changchun.

Several young bachelors said that they would go on doing what they were doing. They didn't explain this further except to point out that if one takes off his long gown, he can do anything.

A few richer intellectuals protested against this last course saying that it would be useless to run the risk of a head-on encounter with the Communists and that they would go to Hongkong or other foreign countries for peace and safety.

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Great Wall And Burma Road

King-Chau Mui
(Chinese Minister to Cuba)

Anyone who has made any study of China at all has heard of the Great Wall, or as the Chinese call it, The Ten Thousand Li Wall, which winds over mountains and plains and valleys in northern China. In recent years its fame has been shared by another great engineering feat—the Burma Road, which played a vital part in the war against Japan.

Both the Great Wall and the Burma Road were national defense measures. Both were constructed by enormous manpower, fashioned with crude tools. And both were symbolic of the spirit of the time, the Great Wall that of ancient China, and the Burma Road that of modern China.

Classified as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, the Great Wall climbs from a starting point below sea level near Shanhaikwan to the roof of the world by the Tibetan plateau, covering a distance of 1145 miles. It was built by Emperor Chin Shih-huang, who spent many years trying to unify contending states into an empire. In seven years he succeeded in subduing his neighbors, and from the northern limits of modern China to the Yangtze River and from the Yellow Sea to present-day Szechuen, his word was law. Living in constant fear that his empire might be overrun by the barbarians of the north, Emperor Chin Shih-huang decided to erect a gigantic barrier which no roving horseman could scale or ride around.

To carry out the project, he drafted almost every able-bodied man in China. They chiseled out two parallel furrows twenty-five feet apart, then laid square blocks of granite and bricks in them to a height of twenty feet. They filled the roadway between with earthen paving. Then they erected a five-foot parapet on each side. Those who died in the labor were buried by the Great Wall together with those who rebelled against this inhuman slavery. No one knew the number of the unfortunate victims buried there. Finally, in about 18 years the task was completed. Emperor Chin died in 210 B.C. The Great Wall effectively served its purpose; it kept out the wild horsemen of the north for more than 1400 years.

The second colossal structure, the Burma Road, was rebuilt in eight months beginning December, 1937, and it ran 715 miles from Kunming westward and southward to Lashio to join the Rangoon-Mandalay-Lashio railway in Burma. It was connected to a highway which runs parallel to the Burma railroad to the sea.

The road is really not new. It follows the Old Tribute or Ambassadors' Road over which Chinese envoys made their way to southern Asia and representatives of Burmese principalities bore their tribute to the emperors in China before Chinese seaports were opened to the west. Records have it that the famous Venetian traveler Marco Polo made use of this road in his missions from Yunnan to Burma on behalf of the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan. In effect, then, what is generally called the Back Door of China today was the Front Door of China yesterday.

What the Chinese did was to convert this tortuous trail that winds across sharp gorges and deep valleys and on the side of precipitous ridges that are at places 8,000 feet above sea level into a highway traversable by motor trucks. This stupendous task was achieved without the assistance of a single piece of modern machinery, under the supervision of Chinese engineers who had been trained in American universities.

Hundreds of thousands of people contributed their labour to the construction of the highway. They were mostly the inhabitants of the areas which the road traverses. To the government's call for workers these people responded in a gratifyingly spontaneous manner. Most of them brought their families with them. They brought whatever crude tools they possessed. Although they worked long hours with practically no pay, they did not complain. Everything was done in the spirit of sacrifice. For this reason the road was rebuilt in an amazingly short time and trucks were able to go back and forth over this life line.

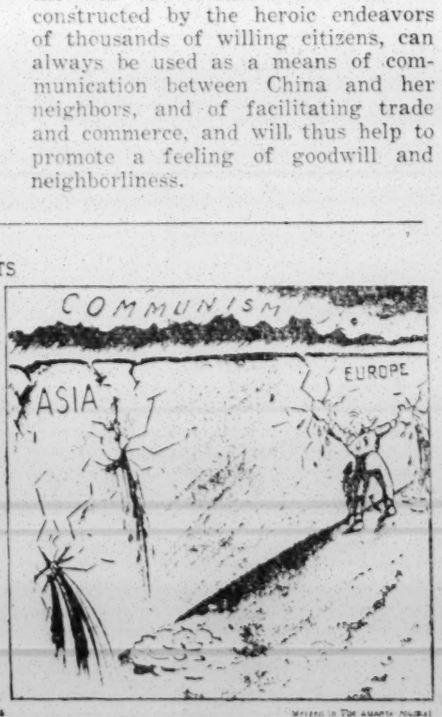
The primary importance of the Burma Road during the war years was, of course, military. China's coast had been so blocked by the Japanese fleet that supplies could not easily flow in and out. The other source of communication, the railway linking Haiphong and Kunming was made unavailable for Chinese use when France yielded Indo-China to the Japanese. This left the Burma Road as the country's principal line of communication with the outside world. And from the time it was constructed until the end of the war, vital supplies flowed in in unending succession, notwithstanding numerous attempts of the enemy to bomb the highways.

Comparing the two great engineering feats, one has the feeling that the Burma Road is more important, if less picturesque. The Great Wall was planned by an egotistic tyrant to ensure the preservation of his power at the sacrifice of thousands of lives. But the despotic state he founded crumbled at his death, and twice in history barbarians did sweep over to conquer China. On the other hand, the Burma Road, which sprang into importance during the war of resistance and was reconstructed by the heroic endeavors of thousands of willing citizens, can always be used as a means of communication between China and her neighbors, and of facilitating trade and commerce, and will thus help to promote a feeling of goodwill and neighborliness.

CHINA'S CRISIS AS SEEN BY THE CARTOONISTS

"Slow boat."

"Impairing the fire department."



"Uncle should have been twins."

Siam Plays "Musical Chairs"

Andrew Roth

WHILE the whole political structure of Asia is swaying under the impact of Communist victories in China, Siam's ruling group is playing the political equivalent of "musical chairs".

Siam is going through a cabinet crisis. The bulk of Field Marshal Pibul Songgram's cabinet has resigned and he is having difficulty in replacing them.

Far off observers might consider it natural that Siam should be suffering a political crisis since it is in the center of strife-torn Southeast Asia. However, Siamese politics has little relation to the economic and political struggles which convulse most of Asia. Siamese politics most resembles the battles between cliques which characterize musical comedy versions of Latin American republics. Thus, the current cabinet crisis revolves about a man who has taught his daughter to play the fastest poker in Bangkok.

"There are not more than two hundred people in Siam who take a serious interest in politics," is the reluctant estimate of one of Siam's shrewdest diplomatic observers. This narrow circle is due largely to Siam's being a rich, rice-surplus country which is comparatively thinly populated. Thus, the peasant masses have never moved into political action by starvation. Siam is the only country in Southeast Asia which has escaped colonial status and therefore there has never been the stimulus of nationalist agitation to arouse a widespread interest in politics. Furthermore, Siam's commercial middle class is comprised overwhelmingly of immigrant Chinese who have been preoccupied with moneymaking and whose political interests have been monopolized largely by the recurrent crises in China. Consequently, only a thin layer of professionals, aristocrats, and army officers have been involved in Siam's political life.

Clique Politics

Clique politics is frequently characteristic of countries newly emerged from feudalism. Even today, when visiting some of Siam's aristocrats—such as Princess Poon, the granddaughter of King Monghut, the King of "Anna and the King of Siam"—one is startled to find their servants crawling around on their knees, as a feudal mark of respect. This is one reminder of the fact that until 16 years ago Siam was one of the last two absolute monarchies on the face of the earth (the other being Japan). The Siamese have been accustomed to accepting orders from above instead of thinking politically for themselves.

During the past 16 years virtually all the seats of authority have been restricted to a group of less than 100 persons known as "the Promoters" from the fact that they promoted the coup of 1932 which overthrew absolutism and established a constitutional monarchy. Although in most countries such movements have been produced by the discontent of large segments of the population, in Siam it was the product of a small group of intellectuals led by Pridi Phanomyong (also known as Luang Pradit)—formerly Premier of Siam—and a group of army officers among whom was Pibul Songgram, now Premier.

Siamese politics has been likened to a game of "musical chairs" because with scarcely any exceptions the scramble for the chief seats of authority has been restricted to the charmed circle of "Promoters". Of course, some of the circle are more to the left and some are toward the right. Pridi, for example, is an intellectual in outlook, a democrat in politics, a socialist in economics and has tended to favor the Western democracies in foreign affairs. Marshal Pibul, on the other hand, is a militarist in outlook, authoritarian in tendency and, until their defeat, favored the Axis powers.

However, despite these marked differences and the bitter rivalry between these two leading personalities they both exhibit a certain loyalty to the charmed circle of "Promoters." In all of the coups and counter-coups (shortened by constant usage to "coupcoups") not one of the "Promoters" has ever been shot by any of the others. Prewar, while Marshal Pibul, as premier, was accomodating himself to the rise of the Axis powers, he used Pridi as his Foreign Minister. During the war, although Pibul, after some pressure from the Japanese, declared war on the Allies and, within limits, was collaborating with the Japanese, he interposed no objections when Pridi undertook to collaborate with the Allies. Pridi reciprocated at the war's end. Though Pibul sat in a war criminal's cell for several months he was released on a technicality!

Interclique Rivalry

Although they will never go so far as to shed the blood of another clique within the magic circle of "Promoters" they will go to amazing extents in interclique rivalry. Thus, although Marshal Pibul has told ambassadors that he doesn't think Pridi was responsible for the death of the King in July 1946, Pibul's henchmen have been busy concocting evidence and conducting a trial whose purpose is to show that Pridi plotted the King's death. To them the truth about the King's death is less important than the advantage gained by smearing an opponent with murdering a very popular young King. Actually, the evidence surrounding the King's death has now been tampered with so extensively that it is impossible to extricate the truth.

Similarly, the division of the world into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet blocs is seen by the cabal around Marshal Pibul not as a momentous political issue but as another means of securing advantage for their clique. Thus, they have been smearing all the Marshal's opponents as "Communists" and depicting themselves as "anti-Communists", hoping to win approval and support for the Pibul regime from Britain and America.

Thus, the attempted counter-coup of October first has been labeled "an attempted Communist uprising" by Pibul's supporters and their journalistic allies. In Siam no one takes this seriously because it was clearly another battle of cliques within the charmed circle. In this case, the better educated career officers on the army's General Staff allied themselves with the Pridi clique and the Khuang Aphaiwongse clique to throw out Marshal Pibul and his section of corrupt army supporters. The musical comedy character of this clique rivalry is indicated by the manner in which news of the coup leaked out. The Siamese are very superstitious and as October first—the date set for the coup—approached, numbers of young army officers went to fortune tellers asking: "What will happen to me on October first?" Some of the fortune tellers tipped off Pibul's police. When Pibul interviewed the frustrated coup-leaders after their arrest, he gave them each a box of cigarettes and a bottle of *mekong* (whiskey) before sending them to jail. Two of the lawyers arrested for treason in this same coup were let out on bail to continue to serve as defense counsel in the King's murder case!

For Pibul and Pridi the aim of this battle of cliques is to place themselves in power. Each one thinks of himself as the only one who knows what is best for Siam. But neither of them has had the patience to build popular political organizations in support of his program. Instead, they have surrounded themselves with supporters, many of whom are sycophants and hangers-on who are interested primarily in getting their fingers in the public till. Corruption is rife among the supporters of both, but Marshal Pibul seems to have a special genius for gathering around him dubious supporters, including military-fascists and wholesale larcenists.

Present Crisis

The present cabinet crisis revolves around the amazing figure of Major General Luang Kach, a man of much energy and few scruples who has even gone so far as to teach his daughters to be card sharps. Luang Kach is reputed to be the most expert smuggler in Siam, having pick-

ed up a number of tricks while Director General of Customs, including misuse of diplomatic pouches. This reporter has been able to secure confirmation of several examples of his work, the most interesting being where Kach asked Charles Yost, the departing American Charge d'Affaires to accompany his daughter to the States. Yost agreed, but in Manila the Customs—apparently warned in advance — searched Luang Kach's daughter carefully and found precious gems hidden in her private parts.

Luang Kach was one of the two leaders of the coup which put Marshal Pibul back in power in 1947. He was rewarded by being raised from Colonel to Major-General and being made Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Army. For many months stories of corruption have been associated with his name. One editor who publicized Luang Kach's smuggling attempts was shot and nearly killed.

Last month a tremendous scandal involving some eighteen million ticals was publicized. It is alleged that without adequate authority Kach obtained considerable amounts of foreign exchange at the legal rate and by juggling between legal and open rates of exchange realized millions of ticals for himself.

The publication of these allegations, strongly substantiated by facts, has precipitated the current political crisis and the resignation of Marshal Pibul's cabinet. Despite widespread demands that Luang Kach be fired, Field Marshal Pibul indicated to this correspondent in a recent interview that he intends to protect him. So deeply ingrained is the game of political "musical chairs" in Siam that it appears more important to protect one who has helped you achieve the seat of authority than to punish him for looting the public treasury.

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The Week's Business

DURING the week ending Wednesday, January 12, commodity prices increased rapidly; in fact, the price increase was far greater on the commodity market than on the foreign exchange market. On the latter, rates went up and down quickly, but, with the exception of cigarettes, commodity prices failed to follow exchange market trends.

While, on the whole, exchange rates went up between 50 percent and 60 percent, commodity prices gained between 100 and almost 300 percent, coal prices being an example of the latter figure. Under such conditions, exporters faced new difficulties even when shipments were intended for Hongkong.

Meanwhile, the money market became extremely tight during the week under review, with money lenders charging as much as 300 percent per month for short term loans, i.e. ten percent per day.

There was little indication that the money market would become easier in the near future because of high commodity prices, on the one hand, and the dumping of consumer goods by the authorities, on the other. The limited amount of banknotes at the disposal of the market will not suffice to cover the demand, it was explained, and remittances from North China have come to a practical standstill.

It may be stated, however, that while the latter part of this explanation no doubt is true, remittances from South China appeared heavy last week. The depression on the Hongkong and Canton commodity markets apparently prompted people to have their idle funds transmitted to Shanghai, where such funds probably were responsible for the fast price advances realized last week.

Nevertheless, in spite of certain very important remittances from the South—most of which referred to capital sent to Canton a few weeks earlier—the money market was tight and remained so throughout the week. With taxes due to be paid by the middle of the month, further large amounts in GY will be to be turned over to the Central Bank.

Mention of the stopping of remittances from the North brings to mind production conditions in Tientsin and Peiping. Apparently, industrial production is next to nothing in both cities. While shipment of agricultural raw materials from Tientsin to Shanghai last week seemed to be out of the question, news from Hongkong stated that direct trade links between the Colony and Communist occupied territory in North China have been established with at least one foreign vessel being sent to a northern port.

During the week under review, public utility rates were increased by more than 100 percent. In spite of this, public utility firms were reported to have approached the Central Bank for loans. According to local press reports, however, the requests were turned down "as the sum required was too big."

As mentioned above, the authorities started to dump commodities on the market with a view to forcing prices down. On the wholesale markets that policy appeared to have had some effect, but retail prices either remained stable or increased. When it became known that large quantities of cotton yarn were to be dumped, cotton yarn quotations at once declined between five and seven percent. How erratic the markets were, however, could be grasped from the fact that the best known sheeting brand gained and lost, within a few hours, more than 20 percent.

Foodstuff markets, too, were erratic but fluctuations were not as heavy as on the various cotton markets. Compared with the first day of the week under review, the rice price on Wednesday showed a 10 percent decline. Vegetable oils dropped between five percent and 10 percent.

To a certain extent, the market was also impressed by peace rumors, although many similar rumors had proved to be wrong or, at least, to be exaggerated. Speculators in commodities, therefore, were by no means certain that purchase of goods would turn out to be the right policy.

The black share market, too, realized tremendous fluctuations, partly due to the tight money market, and partly to political news and rumors. On the whole, however, the piloting stocks gained, with Wing On Textiles opening one morning at GY17,000, falling to GY16,500, and finally closing at GY21,300.

Developments on the clandestine exchange market as well as on the black stock market were taken to prove that if the Government would decide to lift most of the prevailing restrictions and would let the market act and react normally, business would normalize far more quickly than can be expected under prevailing restrictions.

On the last day under review, the exchange market regained part of the losses suffered on Tuesday, but the money market was so tight that premiums up to eight percent were paid for cash. Due to that tightness the exchange market remained comparatively quiet, while on the wholesale commodity markets selling became heavy and prices dropped again. Nevertheless, retail prices showed no decrease.

Fuel prices, which had soared throughout the week, continued to show new advances despite the news that coal shipments from abroad were on the way.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Reds Said Ready For New Drives; Generals Show Insubordination

WHILE Kuomintang leaders were reported in the press to be sharply divided on the question of how to make peace with the Chinese Communists, fighting in North China and in Central China flared up again after a brief lull. It is generally believed that the Reds have completed their regrouping and deployment for fresh drives to capture Peiping, and Tientsin and march toward the Yangtze River, threatening the Nanking-Shanghai area.

In North China, Communist General Lin Piao issued his last warning to Nationalist commanders, advising them to order an immediate cease-fire and surrender their troops and equipment intact. The warning cautioned Nationalist commanders to follow the example of General Cheng Tung-kuo, Nationalist garrison commander in Changchun, who surrendered to the Reds. Lin promised that the lives and property of surrendered personnel would be safeguarded.

A spokesman of General Fu Tso-yi's North China headquarters told the press that Fu would not surrender as demanded by the Reds. He said: "If General Fu answers, his answer will be to fight—to resist—to do everything possible to defend Peiping and Tientsin." However, press reports indicated that public pressure on Fu for a peaceful settlement was very heavy, as the people wanted to save the two cities from destruction.

The North Station in Tientsin is reported already to have been captured by the Reds, although the Nationalist defenders have reiterated their determination to contest every inch of ground. While Tientsin has weathered all previous civil wars and survived practically unscathed during the past 38 years, with severe fighting never getting closer than within 20 kilometers, conditions are now drastically changed. It is feared that street fighting may damage or even destroy the city. Observers pointed out that the Nationalists were taking advantage of the Communist reluctance to shell the city for fear of unnecessary destruction. From a purely military point of view, it is sheer nonsense to talk about defending the city by street fighting instead of resisting the Reds at the strategic centers on the outer perimeter which the Nationalists have abandoned one after another in rapid succession.

* * *

Tu's Armies "Wiped Out"

AS a prelude to a forthcoming drive toward the Yangtze River Communist units under Chen Yi renewed their "mopping up" operations against the three army groups under the command of General Tu Yu-ming which were trapped south of Hsuchow. According to official sources, the Reds shelled Tu's troops with all kinds of artillery, causing heavy casualties among the Nationalists. The Communists claimed to have "wiped out" Tu's units in a three-day battle ending January 10.

In Nanking, a Government spokesman admitted Tu's losses had been heavy but insisted that he was still attempting to fight his way southward in order to break the Communist encirclement. Pilots of the Chinese Air Force who flew over the battle ground described the fighting as the "heaviest" they had seen anytime in China. It was said that Tu's forces held an area only three miles long and one and one-half miles wide, and there appeared little doubt that they must either surrender or be annihilated by the Communists.

The total destruction of Tu's forces was another catastrophe for the Nationalists as they fell back to defend the capital against the expected final Communist offensive. It is estimated that about 16 Communist columns under Chen Yi will be released for this offensive, while between seven and 10 columns under Liu Po-cheng are already in positions north of the Huai River ready to launch the assault at a moment's notice.

In North Kiangsu, *AP* reported Government troops were forced to evacuate the villages of Taihsing and Hungchiao, 70 miles east of Nanking and almost within cannon range of the Yangtze's north bank.

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Pai's Attitude

MEANWHILE, the Reds are reported to be massing their troops for a drive on Hankow. Unofficial but usually reliable Nationalist military sources revealed Communist troops of Liu Po-cheng had occupied Macheng and Hwayuan, astride the main road and railway lines of communications, 70 to 80 miles north of Hankow. The Communists are understood to have moved up more troops into their old base in the Tapieh mountain area on the borders of Honan, Hupeh and Anhwei. Another two columns are moving rapidly south along the Peiping-Hankow Railway. Observers admit there is a possibility that a Communist holding force would engage General Pai Chung-hsi's Hankow forces while the main drive is made on Nanking.

Official reports from Hankow indicated that the local military authorities had blown river dykes in the Yumeng and Anlu area northwest of Hankow to halt the advancing Reds.

Commenting on the reported Communist offensive in the Hankow area, competent observers in Nanking thought the Communist moves were of considerable importance, indicating that the Reds intended to engage the Hankow defenses at about much the same time as they launched their expected main offensive against the Shanghai-Nanking area. The threat in the west was designed, these quarters thought, either to hold General Pai's forces from attempting to attack the flank of the main Communist offensive farther east or to attempt to fake Hankow and then sweep down the Yangtze to prevent General Tang En-po's armies from retreating west if they are unable to hold Nanking and Shanghai.

The Communist move was regarded as particularly significant in the light of earlier unconfirmed reports that General Pai, with other west provincial commanders, was organizing his own defense of the upper Yangtze and was no longer supporting Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

The attitude of General Pai Chung-hsi, Nationalist commander-in-chief in Central China, has caused much speculation. It was rumored that Pai and other Nationalist field commanders in Central China had demanded that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek step down without delay. It also was alleged that Pai had detained several shipments of war supplies, food and recruits which were sent to Nanking from Szechuen, and that he was holding his forces in readiness for whatever political or military moves he considers most beneficial for his group.

UP reported January 6 from Nanking: "A usually reliable source said that several Nationalist field commanders including Pai Chung-hsi are acting in what was described as 'polite insubordination' against Chiang Kai-shek to force him out of power. It appeared from recent actions of the field commanders that they are working in an indirect and polite way to convince Chiang Kai-shek of the wisdom of resigning from the presidency of China . . . The source said these commanders are continuing their polite insubordination to prevail upon Chiang to step down even if the war should continue because of Communist rejection of the Government's olive branch. Pai Chung-hsi, Chang Chen and Cheng Chien, commanders at Hankow, Honan and Changsha respectively, sent separate cables to Chiang urging him to talk peace with the Communists and take a rest . . . Fu Tso-yi, North China commander and Ma Hung-kwei, Ninghsia commander, also were men-

tioned by some quarters as among generals displaying polite insubordination. Pai, Fu and Ma refused Chiang's summons to come to Nanking.

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Chang Chun's Trip

IN view of the serious differences in opinion, General Chang Chun was sent to Hankow and Changsha on a "peace mission." Pai's motive in inviting General Chang to Hankow as said to be to explain to Chang personally the reasons for his polite insubordination and to assure him that he had no intention of starting a rebellion, but was asking only that Chiang Kai-shek take a rest.

General Pai's friends in Nanking believe that Chiang's staying in power is a hindrance not only to successful implementation of the Government's peace policy but also its war effort. They said the Communists would be more amenable to re-opening peace talks if Chiang resigns. Even if the war should continue, they said, removal of Chiang's sponsorship of the favored class and rightist elements would enable drastic political, military and economic reforms.

Whether General Chang Chun has succeeded in softening the attitude of the field commanders in Central China remains to be seen. Upon his return to the capital, he told the press: "The views of the local authorities on peace are identical with those of the Central Government . . . The conduct of peace policy is exclusively a matter for the Central Government."

The Gimo is now in serious difficulties. According to *UP*, "Chiang Kai-shek appeared faced with two alternatives: either to force a showdown with the field commanders, which would be fatal to the Nationalist front, or to quit power himself, which despite his New Year's announcement, he is said to be still reluctant to do . . . Qualified observers believed it would be virtually impossible for Chiang Kai-shek to continue the war against the Communists without the cooperation of the Central China field commanders. These commanders occupy a strategic position. They control the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh and Honan and block Chiang's access to the manpower and material resources of Szechuen province, where most of Chiang's arms factories are located. Army rice, arms, ammunition and army recruits en route from Szechuen to Nanking during the last two weeks all were detained by Pai at Hankow."

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Whither The Gimo?

THE past week witnessed many rumors about the future plans of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. At one time it was rumored that he was leaving the capital for Taiwan. A *UP* story dated January 9 from Nanking disclosed: "Chiang Kai-shek began preparations to leave Nanking for Taiwan as a movement among field commanders and Kuomintang progressives to force him out of power gathered momentum. A well-informed source said Chiang's luggage is almost packed and some already has been flown to Taiwan. The luggage consisted mainly of personal files and documents and things he uses in his daily life."

It also was rumored that three cars used by the Generalissimo had already been sent to Taiwan, where a house was being renovated for him. On January 10 *Reuter* reported from the capital: "President Chiang Kai-shek's special four-engined plane has been flown to Nanking's inner airfield. The plane, one of two used personally by the Generalissimo was usually kept at the Kuomintang's capital's outer and larger airfield. The inner field is not far from the Generalissimo's official residence. The report of the movement of Chiang's plane was circulated simultaneously with another that the Generalissimo would go to Chungking shortly for at least a while before he left for Taiwan."

Reports of the Gimo's impending departure for Taiwan were denied by Government spokesman Shen Chang-huan, who branded them as "sheer rumors and entirely groundless."

For the present, nobody seems to know exactly what the Gimo plans to do. *AP* was right when it reported: "At this stage only Chiang himself can know what moves he will make—and it is probable even the president is not fully determined on his own actions beyond a day-to-day basis."

* * *

Foreign Mediation Sought

NANKING made a move to enlist foreign mediation in China's Civil War. On January 8, Foreign Minister Wu Te-chen invited the American, British and French ambassadors to the Foreign Office for a conference. It was disclosed that the Big Three were requested to study the situation in China and use their good offices in arranging peace talks with the Chinese Communists. The Soviet ambassador was significantly absent from the conference because of illness.

Formal answers from the Big Three have not been made by the time of writing. But competent observers are inclined to think that the prospects are anything but bright. The reasons are obvious. The Reds do not trust them and will have nothing to do with them. *Reuter* reported January 6 from Nanking: "Opinion prevails in diplomatic quarters that Four-Power mediation, as might be suggested by the Nationist Government, is out of the question since none of the major powers is believed to be interested in such a difficult task, and all seem prepared to deal with a Communist China on the best possible terms they can obtain."

There was some talk in Nanking about referring the China problem to the United Nations for discussion if the Big Four should refuse to step in and do something about it. But qualified observers expressed the opinion that if the Big Four failed to take any action there is no reason to believe that the United Nations Organization could do anything even if it agreed to consider the matter.

* * *

Leave Her Alone

A movement was under way in Shanghai and Nanking among Kuomintang "progressives" to put Madame Sun Yat-sen in the saddle in order to save the Kuomintang. It was contended that she was the ideal person to reason with the Chinese Communists and save her husband's party from total collapse.

Madame Sun, however, issued a statement on January 10, denying current rumors about her assuming any office or responsibility in the government and stressing that her entire time and energy were devoted to the relief work of the China Welfare Fund.

A *Manila Times* editorial, commenting on the report that Kuomintang progressives were building up Madame Sun Yat-sen as the eventual successor to Chiang Kai-shek, said the choice would be "pathetic."

The *Times* said Madame Sun has been "some kind of angel to assorted revolutionaries . . . but she has done absolutely nothing positive to continue the revolution launched by her distinguished husband, or lend real impetus to those who tried to complete it."

It added: "Madame Sun remains a shining symbol during these days of chaos and terror, and it is certain that the light and sweetness she spread will remain undimmed. She is China's link to the nation's usable past. In plain American, she is okay where she is. Leave her be."

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Nanking Evacuation

IN anticipation of a lightning Communist drive toward the Yangtze, Government agencies in Nanking are reported to have received strict orders to evacuate their personnel and archives to Canton and Taiwan. According to AP, while hundreds of top-level Government officials are leaving, many in lower echelons have decided to stay put. One ministry employee is quoted as saying: "I ran away from the Japanese from Nanking to Hankow and then to Chungking. I'm not going to run any more. If whatever power takes over doesn't want me I'll go back to my native home. But I'll not become a political refugee from my own country."

Meanwhile ground installations of the last transport squadron of the Nationalist Air Force based in Nanking was reported to be packing preparatory to leaving for Canton. Most of the effective fighting strength of the Air Force was reported to have been withdrawn from their bases about the beginning of December, and the losses of the northern bases made it impossible for the Nationalists to keep the bulk of their planes in operation.

Chinese Magazine Roundup

News Magazine

THE inside story on the reasons why Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek suddenly changed his mind and made peace overtures to the Chinese Communists is told in the *News Magazine* of January 10.

According to the magazine's analysis, the first major reason is the long series of military reverses the Nationalist armies have sustained in recent months. "Since October 1948, the Nationalists have lost Manchuria, Tsinan, Chengchow and Yenan, with the result that the war situation has become extremely unfavorable to the Government forces," the magazine says. "Particularly disastrous was the total surrender of 300,000 crack troops in Manchuria without a fight and the capture of all top-ranking Nationalist field commanders in Manchuria. This sensational collapse of Nationalist defense created a big stir both at home and abroad and caused much demoralization. The recent Hsuchow Battle cost the Nationalists dearly. Three army groups under the separate commands of General Huang Po-tao, General Sun Yuan-liang and General Huang Wei were completely wiped out. General Tu Yu-ming's troops are bottled up and trapped without any hope of getting out. Another three army groups have been pinned down in the defense of Pengpu and Pukow. In North China, General Fu Tso-yi's troops are locked up in Peiping and Tientsin, facing a very critical situation. Now that things have come to such a pass, it is evident to everyone that it is impossible to fight on any longer. The long series of catastrophic setbacks the Nationalists have sustained in recent months is one of the major reasons for making Nanking talk peace."

The second reason, the magazine points out, is that further aid from the United States has been despaired of by Nanking's leaders. "In spite of the fact that the Communists are massing their troops along the bank of the Yangtze River, threatening the very gates of Nanking and Shanghai," it points out, "the United States has refused not only to give more money but also to issue a public statement in support of Nanking. Madame Chiang Kai-shek flew to Washington to appeal for prompt aid. President Truman flatly refused to discuss the matter. So did Secretary of State General George C. Marshall, who went to the hospital to stay for weeks. Madame Chiang gracefully went to the hospital to see him, but it was reported she had a distinctly cool reception and did not know whether to cry or to laugh. She simply has been put on the spot.

"When the situation was delicate, ECA boss Paul G. Hoffman said in Shanghai that he would recommend continued American aid to any Chinese coalition government that respects the civil liberties of the people. Hoffman's statement placed the Chinese Government in a position of extreme embarrassment. The kind of coalition government mentioned by Hoffman of course includes Communist elements. In other words, Hoffman's statement carried the implication that the United States Government would not extend more aid to China unless Communist elements were included in the Chinese Government. Although the State Department issued a statement to correct the wrong impression that had been conveyed by Hoffman's statement, it was believed that Hoffman's statement was indicative of significant trends in the American attitude towards China, because the United States Government did not come out with a public statement voicing opposition to inclusion of Communist elements in the Chinese Government. . . . As the result of this marked change in American policy, the Chinese Government has found it impossible to continue the war with American aid. Therefore, some change in the bandit-suppression campaign has to be made."

Economic chaos also has something to do with the shaping of Nanking's policy, according to the magazine. "Political stability must be based on economic stability," the article says. "Since the implementation of currency reform, the economic conditions in Nationalist China have witnessed one crisis after another. The confusion and panic caused by the nation-wide buying spree are still fresh in the public memory. The sale of gold and silver has given rise for the second time to violent price fluctuations. Life for the people is getting more and more difficult. Sun Fo's new cabinet is virtually helpless in the face of economic dislocation. Under the heavy pressure of the economic crisis, there is a wide-spread feeling for peace."

The combination of these factors has made it much easier for the peace advocates inside the Kuomintang to gain ground. "The death of Chen Pu-lei," the magazine writes, "meant a terrible defeat for the peace advocates. But it is a blessing in disguise. Chen's action in committing suicide after his peace proposals were scornfully rejected by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek brought about a marked change in the Generalissimo. According to people well-connected with the Presidential Office, before the death of Chen Pu-lei, the Generalissimo would explode any time people talked about peace, even with tremendous tact. But Chen's death made the Generalissimo depressed and pensive. He was often seen walking in his garden, cane in hand. The expression on his face seemed to indicate that he had lots of things on his mind which he could not possibly tell other people. He would listen patiently to people who argued for peace."

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Inside Story

IN view of the prevailing crisis, it is quite interesting to find out how the Government leaders in Nanking feel about the general situation. The *Inside Story* of December 18 reports top-notch Government leaders are indulging in much wishful thinking.

"Their first wish," the periodical says, "is that the Communists will fight among themselves. For this, they created all kinds of propaganda. Official news agencies and Government-controlled papers reported time after time that Mao Tze-tung and Li Li-san are not on friendly terms and that Chen Yi and Liu Po-cheng have quarreled from time to time. They even predict that the Reds will share the same fate as the Taiping rebels if they should succeed in capturing Nanking. . . . Such rumors have often come from the mouths of high ranking Kuomintang officials. Therefore, they hold that if the Government could stick it out there would surely be a change in its favor."

The magazine says the second wish of Nanking's leaders is that General Marshall and other American leaders who are against further aid to Nanking will be kicked out. "The Government hopes to receive increased aid from the United States," the article declares. "When William Bullitt first arrived in Nanking, he expressed the hope that the Chinese Government could hold out. After that, the Government issued a series of news stories about the victories of the Nationalist troops, obviously to assure Bullitt that Nanking had the situation well in hand. During this period there were rumors that American arms and ammunition were being shipped to China and that poison gas supplied by the US would be used in fighting concentrated Communist columns . . . . Since Government officials believe that the State Department and the United States Military Advisory Group do not favor further aid to Nanking, they wish to see the resignation of Marshall and the transfer of the Advisory Group."

Government leaders also want to wait until the outbreak of World War III, the article concludes: "With Harry S. Truman re-elected as President of the United States, they fear possible improvement in the relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. Yet, they are convinced that as long as friction between the two world powers exists, there is sure to be a sudden 'development' some day. In other words, they say that the Chinese Government should do its best to hold on, awaiting the outbreak of another world war, which will offer a natural solution for the China problem."

US Magazine Roundup

United Nations World

PEARL Buck writes that the present crisis in China is a lesson that people everywhere are "waking to the knowledge that they have the right to live, the right to be free, the right to pursue happiness." Her article, which appears in the December 1948 issue of *United Nations World*, is entitled, "The People Will Be Free."

Pointing out that the explosion now rocking China took place quietly in England at the end of the war, "has just taken place in its fashion in the United States," and is still struggling to take place in Europe, India, South America and Africa, Pearl Buck warns that only the superficial mind can see in China today, or in the world, a mere conflict between two ideologies.

According to Miss Buck, the chaos today is not even a conflict but a struggle of the people of China and in the world as a whole, to emerge into a place where they can live. "If Communism serves, Communism may continue. If Communism, too, fails the people, then it will be cast away and the struggle will go on, not against other peoples, not between peoples, but for life itself," she writes. "The people of any and all countries do not want wars of mutual destruction. They are all struggling separately and even blindly toward the same goal, as plants, weak and strong alike, struggle with irresistible force toward the light. This is the lesson of our times and it remains to be seen who learns it first. The ones who do will have the power of shaping the new age. But they will keep this power only so long as the people, any and all, have hope of their being served.

"China is huge, and whatever happens there happens on a massive scale. A little over 20 years ago Chiang Kai-shek, still young and vigorous, arrived in Nanking to set up a new government. The people of China received him with welcome. He had his chance. They give anyone a chance. They have given him 20 years to prove that his government could serve the people. Today they are on the search again, in search of what the government he formed has not been able to give them. They are hungry and none has fed them. They are ragged and none has clothed them. They are sick and not healed, they are ignorant and not taught. All this they know and they are on the march again. It is not yet an active march, in spite of rice riots and refugees. Most Chinese are still at home. They stay until the last moment in their villages and market towns and little cities. They seem passive until despair is complete, they seem indifferent even as the Communist hordes threaten and overwhelm. But they are neither passive nor indifferent; with furious determination they are actively searching for those who will give them their rights."

Miss Buck declares the United Nations has not yet developed the authority to intervene in such a situation and the responsibility for action or no action falls on the United States. She stresses that Americans must realize that the conflict in China is not ideological except among a handful of intellectuals and politicians, and that if America fails to realize this, anything she does in the China situation will be of no significance. Pouring more aid—money, equipment and munitions—of the type America has given China since VJ day, Miss Buck says, would not only be wasted, but if given "to those whom the people have rejected" would be "folly indeed."

If the United States chooses to persist in this folly, the author continues, she must send troops to China in order that they may fight those whom the Chinese will not fight.

Miss Buck believes the new government, whatever its composition, will need to act quickly to meet the demands of the people.

"Aid must come from somewhere, and it will come," she writes. "If the United States pursues a short-sighted policy and refuses aid except on ideological agreement, then Asia is lost to the West."

But if America sends food to China to ease centers of starvation, and technicians to put communications in order and sets up engineering projects to make possible further production of both food and goods, then, Miss Buck thinks, the people can be won, and the "new government, whatever it is, will know it. Its very existence will depend upon swiftness. And that is America's chance. The investment will be repaid a thousandfold in world stability. For inevitably that new government will learn through the thorough-going and practical aid which Americans alone, out of their plenty, can give. The new government will become dependent upon this aid and long before they can function independently they will have become shaped by it."

Should America choose a course of no aid, Miss Buck believes, assistance will come from Soviet Russia and America will have missed her chance, for the American edge in goods and techniques would make the Chinese people themselves decide against Communist ideology.

"There is still another possibility," she concludes. "Chiang Kai-shek may retreat to the South and China may be divided into two parts. What then? If Americans still think in terms of ideology and war, they will aid only the South. If they think in terms of China, however, they will send aid to all China's people, under whatever ideology they live for the moment. Ideologies come and go, but the people are eternal."

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Business Week

THE December 4, 1948 issue of *Business Week* discusses US policy towards China, particularly as it affects business groups, saying:

"Washington is still fishing for a China policy. But you can be sure the US will: (1) **Refuse to recognize a Communist government in North China.** US businessmen who stay there will do so at their own risk. (2) **Spurn any Communist offer for a trade deal.** Shipments of US machinery and other capital equipment won't be allowed. Washington regards the Chinese Communists as tools of Moscow—even if they are agrarian reformers. Washington's dilemma is that right now there is no one in China to carry the standard of democracy.

"Washington's attitude will come as a blow to many old China hands. They see a good chance of keeping China out of Moscow's orbit if the US would establish trade relations with the Chinese Communists.

"Many foreign businessmen feel they will be needed to develop China no matter who is in power. For example: A large plant of the British-American Tobacco Co. has just reopened at Tientsin. A British company, Jardine Matheson, is planning to start a steamship service between Hongkong and Tientsin soon. National City Bank plans to keep its Tientsin office open even if the communists take over the area.

"Many of these businessmen are bitter at Washington: They are outspoken against: (1) US top brass in China and the US press for calling for more aid to Chiang Kai-shek; (2) 'Special Ambassadors,' like William C. Bullitt who, they claim, listen only to Chiang's official line.

"Meanwhile, Moscow is gloating on the sidelines.

"Marshal Vassilievsky has taken command of Russia's Far Eastern armies. He led the Soviet armies against Japan in 1945. The shift in high command could be a veiled threat to the US not to go all out with military aid to Chiang.

"But, otherwise, the Kremlin is sitting tight. . . .

"Now Stalin can afford to sit back and reap the benefit of widespread anti-Chiang and anti-US feeling among the Chinese."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE question of making peace with the Communists remained the principal topic for editorial comment in the Chinese press last week. The peace movement, first sponsored by Government leaders in Nanking, seems to have developed along new lines, as indicated in the rapid growth of popular sentiment for peace at any price. This movement is gradually getting out of official control and Kuomintang papers take pains to hammer home the point that what is needed is a "real, lasting peace."

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Peace Talks

THE Kuomintang official organ, *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, stressed that the consistent policy of the Nationalist government was to bring about internal peace.

"After the victorious conclusion of the war of resistance," the paper wrote, "the Communist problem could have been solved through political channels. The Government indeed exhibited the greatest degree of tolerance in undertaking repeated political consultations with the Chinese Communists. But because of the lack of sincerity on the part of the Communists and because of their determination to stage an armed revolt, peace talks finally broke down. In order to safeguard the independence of the nation and the people's freedom the government, after the most careful consideration, adopted the policy of rebellion-suppression so as to attain the goal of peace, unity and democratic reconstruction.

"As the political objective of the rebellion-suppression campaign is the realization of peace, unity and democratic reconstruction, no sacrifice should be spared in carrying out this policy to the end until the Reds have abandoned their ambitious designs and changed their attitude. But owing to certain internal and external factors, the rebellion-suppression campaign during the past three years has sustained one reverse after another instead of winning final victory at an early date. Besides, the suffering of the people has reached the limit. President Chiang has courageously issued the call for peace....

"Since the objectives of the rebellion-suppression campaign are preservation of peace, unity, and democratic reconstruction, there is no reason why fighting should be carried on if these objectives can be achieved through political channels. War is a two-party affair and peace can be achieved only by a similar desire on both sides . . .

"We are looking forward to an early realization of peace. We are awaiting to see the Communists fulfill their mission of liberating the people by responding to the call for peace . . .

"At the same time, we must call the serious attention of our fellow countrymen to the need for vigilance and vision to win a real, lasting peace."

The *Ho Ping Jih Pao* warned that the government must remain united in attempting to make peace with the Communists, and that disunity means suicide.

The paper said: "Any sign of disunity in the present movement for peace is the signal for internal collapse. Even after the Communists have agreed to resume peace negotiations and even when peace talks have already been started, there is still a pressing need for the maintenance of a large force to back us up if we are to succeed in bringing the negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion. It must be clearly understood that any confusion or disunity in our ranks before peace is achieved will upset our whole plan."

The Catholic organ, *Yi Shih Pao*, thought it necessary for President Chiang Kai-shek to issue another public statement to clarify the present situation. It suggested that Chiang assure the Chinese people of his burning desire to start all over with the people and take drastic measures for carrying out their aspirations.

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Eastern Union

THE independent *Ta Kung Pao* thought the proposed formation of an Eastern Union for the Far East was no easy matter.

The paper said: "As the situation in Asia continues to be in a state of upheaval, talk about the formation of an Eastern Union has been much in the air. It is said that Britain is going to call an Eastern Conference to review the general situation in the Far East. British and Australian authorities have on several occasions emphasized the need for such an organization on the pattern of the Western Union . . .

"But the problem is not simple. The situation in Asia is basically more complicated than that of Europe. The current situation is undergoing a profound change. Moreover, the construction of barriers and the building up of different spheres of influence certainly is not conducive to the safeguarding of world peace.

"Speaking of regional unions, we must point out that they manifest a lack of support for, or confidence in, the international secirity machinery. While the conclusion of a pact here and the formation of a union there are reportedly undertaken to safeguard peace, they only serve to aggravate the situation and increase mutual suspicion and hostility and finally hasten the advent of war. It was only after long years of extensive fighting that the world was eventually made to understand the truth that peace is indivisible. Regional unions, in our judgment, are only calls for war. Who can believe that a divided world will be a peaceful world?

"The situation in Asia is extremely complicated. But the problem of the East has its root in poverty and in the existing colonial system. Poverty has given rise to numerous grave political and social problems, leading to conflicts and chaos, waste of social wealth and resources and sacrifice of lives. The existence of the colonial system has caused wars, punitive expeditions, oppressive government and slavery, and the continued treatment of Asiatic countries as vassal states. The divide-and-rule tactics used by the imperialists have added to racial and religious disputes among the Asiatics. The peoples in Asia want independence, sovereignty, permanent peace and economic rehabilitation. The organization of a regional bloc will only increase the atmosphere of fear, disturb peace and obstruct rehabilitation. The national liberation movement in Asia is most likely to be handled with sternness and unreasonable repression under regional joint defense and cooperation.

"Asia needs stability badly. Unless the problem is tackled at its root, the result will be more chaos and confusion."

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Price Fluctuations

THE *Shang Pao* called upon the government authorities to take prompt action to check the violent fluctuation in prices.

According to the paper, there are many causes for the sharp rise in commodity prices. Some of the causes are natural; others, man-made. "Since the Government has failed to balance its budget, there is no way of checking the inflationary tendency of the Chinese currency. In addition, the lunar New Year is drawing near, with the people doing heavy shopping for the festival. As a result, prices have gone up. Taking advantage of this situation, the speculators and hoarders lost no time in fishing in troubled waters. Their first attention was diverted to gold and foreign currencies," the paper said.

In order to combat these activities, the paper suggested that the financial authorities tighten the money market by ordering the banks to refuse loans to speculators and hoarders, and dump large quantities of commodities on the markets to force down prices.

It was pointed out by the paper that the moment supply exceeds demand prices will naturally fall off. In that case, it will be unnecessary for the Government to take other drastic measures to curb the violent fluctuations in the market."

What US Papers Say

CHINESE Communist chief Mao Tse-tung received some attention in American editorial columns recently, as editorials speculated on whether he could be compared with Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito. The future role of US marines in China was another editorial subject.

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Mao and Tito

THE *Christian Science Monitor* commented editorially: "When Marshal Tito last week announced his dissatisfaction with Russia's attempt to keep Yugoslavia in a state of non-industrialized economic vassalage and proclaimed his intention of turning economically to the West, he inadvertently threw light on what may happen in Communist China.

"Tito has frequently been compared to Mao Tse-tung, ideological leader of the Chinese Reds. Both are at the same time Communists and Nationalists who won their prestige through partisan leadership. A short while ago Mao asserted his loyalty to the Cominform line and his condemnation of Tito's heterodoxy, yet there is at least a good possibility that this pronouncement was made to quiet Moscow's suspicions of the sincerity of Mao's subservience to the Kremlin at a time when he desires the Kremlin's support.

"When the Chinese Reds took possession of Manchuria they were heirs to a clear fact that the Russians had removed vast industrial equipment of that area for their own use. While Chinese Communism to date has rested, in very un-Marxian fashion, on an exclusively peasant base, it cannot hope to consolidate its power without building up an industrialized base for national prosperity. Like Tito, Mao and the less international wing of the Chinese Communist party may find themselves in eventual conflict with Moscow on this issue.

"There is no assurance that this will happen. Nor is either Tito or Mao to be idealized if their brand of ruthless left-wing national socialism disrupts the pattern of aggressive international Communism. Yet mutually beneficial trade with the West could in the end turn out to be one of the important determinants in helping these governments resist the creation of an even more dangerous monolithic Soviet bloc."

The *Washington Post* also discussed "Mao and Tito," saying: "A Russian-sponsored newspaper in Berlin finds the American press taking comfort in feeling that Mao Tse-tung will turn out to be another Tito. If there has been any such speculation we haven't seen it, though we have noted as a trifle odd that Tito's newspapers are leading the world's press in full and ecstatic coverage on the war in China. Nobody can tell what will happen in China, but no Russian Communist can ignore certain facts about the situation and the Communist leader there. The Russian newspaper itself provides us with the major fact—Mao Tse-tung, it says, is not more Chinese than Communist, so emphasizing the fact that he is a Chinese, and therefore *sui generis*.

"Mao Tse-tung is an unknown quantity, but, reading everything we can lay our hands on about him, we feel that he is authentic Communist. He is a Hunanese of poor rural parentage who imbibed his Marx while working in the library of Peking University. But the fact that he reads Marx in the Chinese language may be significant. Equally significant may be the fact that he never had indoctrination on the spot which the Russians administered to one after the other Chinese leaders, including Chiang Kai-shek. In other words, Mao has never been to Moscow.

"Even with a Muscovite education, the Chinese would never stay put, as Stalin knows to his sorrow. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek, who had managed to get the Kuomintang accepted as a sort of fellow-traveller member of the Comintern, suddenly purged the Kuomintang, and almost overnight his Russian mentors in Hankow were fleeing for their lives. This revolt almost unseated Stalin in Moscow.

"Having been worsted in this initial effort to spread world revolution, he had to fight with all the force and guile at his disposal against Trotsky, who almost wrested the crown from him. This is the reason that Stalin hates Chiang Kai-shek. Throughout the war he said to one American visitor after the other, with a rueful grimace as if recalling his own experience, that the Chinese were like radishes, red outside and white inside.

"Be this as it may, Mao Tse-tung is like Tito in this: He owes precious little to Moscow in a positive way for his success. To be sure, the Russians left the Communists the arms of which they had deprived the Japanese in Manchuria, but other aids are not easy to discover. Matthew Woll of the AFL wants us to put the case of the communizing of China before the Security Council. Such a reference would be less than fruitless; it would make this country look ridiculous. Mao Tse-tung is his own architect of his Communist victories. And, if the present has any relation to the past, he is a Nationalist. As such, we may find him one day looking at Manchuria, where real control has passed to the Russians, with a very Irredentist eye. The Russian theft of Manchuria does not sit well on any Chinese, Communist or Nationalist; you can't indoctrinate a Chinese by picking his pocket. The Russian newspaper may be denying what the Russians may be anticipating."

Marines Leaving?

COMMENTING on an *AP* dispatch from Tsingtao reporting that plans were underway for the US marines to leave that city, the *New York Herald-Tribune* said: "Although a report that the United States marines in China are being withdrawn has been denied, there is good reason to suppose that preparations for withdrawal are being made. Presumably the announcement of withdrawal was premature rather than wholly incorrect.

"The marines at Shanghai, who are living in crowded quarters on a transport vessel, are stationed there only temporarily. Their assignment is to protect and evacuate American residents of the city in case the civil war brings about a period of chaos and thus endangers foreign civilians. These marines are expected to depart as soon as the current crisis is ended in one way or another. The marines at Tsingtao are stationed there by agreement with the Nanking Government. The American Navy uses Tsingtao harbor as an anchorage and for training Chinese sailors to handle naval craft obtained by China from the United States. All surrounding territory is in the hands of the Chinese Communists, which makes the harbor undesirable as an anchorage, and the naval-training program no doubt will be halted if the Nanking Government is replaced by a Red regime or by a coalition dominated by Communists.

"If events develop as nearly all observers expect, and the Communists win power in China through negotiation or by continued fighting, the United States will have no choice except to remove any armed forces it has in the country. If this were not done, there would be a probability that Americans would become involved in a military action at a time when nothing could be gained by the sacrifice of American lives. There is a possibility that a separate decision will have to be made for areas the Communists cannot control (the island of Formosa might be one), but it seems doubtful American military strength can be used to real advantage anywhere in China in the near future."

* * *

Asia Aroused

THE *Cleveland Plain Dealer* predicted that Asia will demand increased attention from the West in 1949, saying: "Europe, which has been the focus of Western policy, will no longer retain its almost exclusive position. A truly global view will henceforth have to be taken by the State Department and foreign chancelleries of free Western nations. . . . Asia from now on will protrude itself into the councils of all Western nations to a greater degree than ever before in history."

The Review's English Lesson—LXVI

THIS week, we shall try to answer the questions submitted by Mr. Chao, of Hunan, and Mr. K. F. Jeng, of Chekiang. We'll begin with Mr. Jeng, who asks us about the editorial "American Dilemma" which appeared in the December 4 issue.

Get the hell out of China: Or out of, or away from, any place one wants to leave. Indicates extreme exasperation with the place one is in, or one's haste to leave; a phrase not used in polite society, but adopted as slang by groups such as the armed forces. For instance, one of a group in a bar, dissatisfied with the entertainment offered, or alarmed at a fight and possible incursion of the police, might say, "Let's get the hell out of here." Its use by certain dissatisfied foreign groups, applied to China, is questionable to say the least.

Accomodations on government transports: Passages (cabins, bunks) on government-operated (either Army or Navy) ships. Afforded civilians for evacuation purposes from any area which, in the opinion of the authorities concerned, has become dangerous.

Consular protection, for whatever it is worth: The concluding phrase implies that it isn't worth very much, or that at best (in the situation, i.e., in areas overrun by the Reds) its worth is dubious. Similarly, in the sentence, "Here's the story, for whatever it is worth," the phrase implies that the teller is not convinced that the story is true.

American nationals and property: This could mean either American Government or privately held property. If the intention is to exclude any American Government property (such as Consular property), then the phrase should be, "and their property."

That....that: Two "thats" are not necessarily incorrect, although they may be awkward. Thus, one could say, "We think that they have decided that the best thing is to remain." However, it is better to examine every "that", to see if it is really necessary. It is sometimes possible, as in the above sentence, to omit the first "that", and say, more simply, "We think they have decided....."

Roll up a record: To make, or set up, a record; this expression may have arisen from bowling.

From (time) to time: Occasionally, at intervals. The first "time" was inadvertently omitted; it is hoped that all proofreaders, including ourselves, are properly ashamed.

As of: At the time of; as, "My bank balance, as of yesterday, was GY35." A rather fussy, stilted phrase; avoid it. Better say, "Yesterday, my bank balance....."

* * *

MR. Jeng suggests that these Lessons omit grammatical treatises and stick to discussions of "selected passages" and explanations of the "hard terms" appearing in the editorial columns. We are glad to oblige, but we'd like to mention again that we depend upon our readers to select the passages and hard terms. And now for Mr. Chao:

CATC: Central Air Transport Corporation.
ECA: Economic Cooperation Administration.
Cominform: Communist Information Bureau.

Orientation: From "orient", the east; to point or set toward the east, or in a specific relation to all the points of the compass. By extension, "orientation" is the putting (oneself or others) into correct position or relation to environment, field of knowledge, principle, etc. Hence, students are given "orientation lectures" soon after they enter college, to acquaint them with the institution and to assist them in making the correct adjustment to it.

Reason is because: In the sentence, "The reason is because he doesn't like you," "because" is incorrect; it should be, "the reason is that...." He went away because he doesn't like you; the reason for his going away is that he doesn't like you.

Are, is: In arithmetical expressions, such as, "Two plus two is four," the context and general idea determines the number of the verb. Thus, if one is thinking of an abstract numerical quantity, which is singular, then "is" would be correct. But if separate things are in mind, such as books or dollars, one might say, "Two books plus two books are four books." Similarly with time; one could say, "Two years (thought of as a single period) has passed," although it would look and sound better to say, "A period of two years has passed," thus making the subject "period" explicit.

Possessive: I don't think "A friend of my father's" is very good; it's either, "My father's friend," or "A friend of my father." Usually the former construction, being simpler, is preferable—especially when discussing satellites.

He came on foot: "On" is better than "by", as the latter implies the use of a separate agency, such as a boat, car or train, while one's feet are not customarily detachable.

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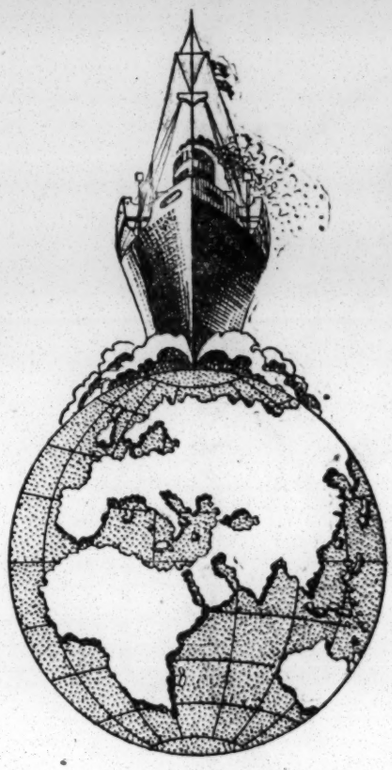

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